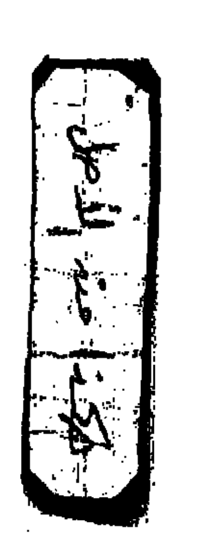
The German Tribune

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Lost chances in Afghanistan, the forgotten killing fields

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The war in Afghanistan has been going on for seven years. The West has grown so used to the idea of killing fields somewhere or other in far-off Asia that few any longer care.

People there would do better to sue for peace with the Soviet Union, which they can't hope to beat in the long term, the argument goes.

The feeling is that the war is madness and people are allowing themselves to be led to the slaughter. It is said the Americans are letting them go because they are enjoying the spectacle of life being made difficult for the Russians.

These are the terms in which mention, if any, is made of Afghanistan — even though Western politicians may still occasionally trundle out their appeals to the Russians to withdraw their troops and restore the country's neutral, non-aligned status.

What, in any case, can we do? This question, and the helplessness which it reveals, is often the only answer that occurs to Western politicians when Afghans and their sympathisers in Europe and America appeal to them not to let the Soviet Union get away with it.

Western policy over Afghanistan has been one of helplessness all along, beginning with the coup in Kabul in April 1978, the significance of which was not then appreciated.

The West should have protested straight away and made it clear to the Soviet leaders that it was not prepared to accept the incorporation of Afghanistan in the Soviet empire.

Open Soviet intervention in Afghanistan began in April 1978 (covert intervention much earlier still), and not on 27 December 1979, by when the take-over was almost complete.

Yet even then there would still have been time for an imaginative counter-strategy. But no serious attempt has ever been made to devise one.

Instead Western activities have consisted mainly of supplying the millions of refugees who spilled over into Pakistan and Iran when the Soviet troops moved in.

At least part of the human suffering caused by the war in Afghanistan was eased in this way, but it would have been more important to help the Afghan resistance, and civilians who chose to stay in Afghanistan, in their desperate struggle, and to do so politically and, as far as possible, militarily.

But the West lacked the courage to do this. Its support for the Afghan resistance, the mujaheddin, the Islamic warriors, has always been half-hearted, fearful and *thus, in the long term, fairly* ineffectual.

The West has suffered as a result. Its inability to provide effective assistance has disappointed and embittered the military and political leaders of the Afghan resistance.

They will no longer have much truck with Western politicians or the Western way of life. Some have taken to *making no bones about their anti-*Western views.

The mujaheddin are also disappointed in many of their fellow-Muslims, not to mention governments of the non-aligned movement, whose help has consisted mainly of annual votes at the UN General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan.

Some non-aligned countries are not even prepared to back this resolution at the UN.

All in all the conclusions to be reached at the end of seven years of war in Afghanistan are depressing.



A flickering in the dark. (Cartoon: Walter Hanel/Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger)

Militarily the Afghan resistance is not yet beaten, but *it is hard-pressed* by Soviet superiority, which is beginning to tell.

The resistance is still inadequately equipped in terms of both quality and quantity of weapons, especially anti-aircraft weapons with which to challenge Russia's undisputed supremacy in the air.

It must also look on helplessly as the Soviet leaders gradually gain political ground too.

The Afghans are subjected to increasingly severe burdens. Air raids have grown even more devastating. In*creasing pressure is exerted by the Ka*bul authorities while the mujaheddin also claim loyalty.

Time is on the Russians' side. They have not yet succeeded in full, but virtually everything is proceeding according to plan.

There is less and less international debate about the war in Afghanistan and more and more people are coming to terms with the Soviet Union esta*blishing itself in Afghanistan for good.*

Supporters of the kind of political solution for Afghanistan advocated by the Soviet Union are gaining ground.

This "political solution" would amount to recognition of what the Soviet leaders term irreversible revolutionary changes in Afghan society.

This may not happen overnight, but the Russians have reason to hope it may come to gain acceptance in the *foreseeable future.*

It is little short of a miracle that the resistance still survives despite these vicissitudes. Its courage, fortitude and strength of belief are admirable.

But if it is left to its own devices its future nonetheless looks bleak.

Klaus Natorp

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 December 1986)

IN THIS ISSUE

The next edition of THE GERMAN TRIBUNE will appear on 18 January

Sakharov: a new Kremlin? Or a case of new tactics?

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Andrei Sakharov's release from domestic exile is only one of several news stories from the Soviet Union.

But it is the one creating the greatest interest in the West — more so than criticisms of the late Mr Brezhnev and the unrest in Kazakhstan.

Sakharov did nothing more than call *for international* coexistence in peace and freedom and was subjected to seven years of exile and terror as a result.

An outstanding nuclear physicist who was *largely responsible for de*signing the Soviet hydrogen bomb and earned the highest Soviet awards, he raised his voice in warning, like many fellow-physicists in the West, against the weapon of mass murder he had helped to develop.

As he also called more and more insistently for a democratisation of the socialist system he was not only put out to graze but ostracised and terrorised. Yet he refused to recant.

The new Soviet leaders' decision to *let him* return to Moscow and resume his work there is doubtless due in part to pressure exerted by the West.

His story is a spectacular one. So his *release must not make us readier to* forget the fate of many other, less well-known and perhaps less interesting Soviet dissidents.

Yet the Soviet move remains remarkable and is worth noting because it could be symptomatic of endeavours to reform the Soviet regime.

Whether the unrest in Kazakhstan is similarly symptomatic is another matter.

It may have been fomented by an old Party clique in a bid to avoid being

Continued on page 2

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Interview raises issue of Bonn's special relationship with East Berlin

Richard Perle is not one of those members of the Washington administration who views are often aired in the German Press.

He is an under-secretary and not a secretary of state. But he is not an unimportant person in the Reagan administration, so what he says does carry weight.

He often has strongly worded advice for the Germans, especially the Social Democrats. His latest interview, with the *Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung*, is no exception.

He says the Federal Republic, and the rest of Europe, should invest more in defence, research and development. Where was the cash to come from? From the welfare budget?

No, he says. Start by cutting loans to East Berlin.

Many a Christian Democratic election campaigner will have bitten his tongue at that. Who needs enemies with friends like that?

On Ostpolitik and Deutschlandpolitik the Christian Democrats already face the attacks of an Opposition that accuses the Bonn government of being a vassal of the United States and of pursuing a Westpolitik that regularly fouls up opportunities in the East.

It is no help to have reaffirmed by America what Bonn has rightly always disputed: the existence of a conflict in objectives between alliance policy and Deutschlandpolitik.

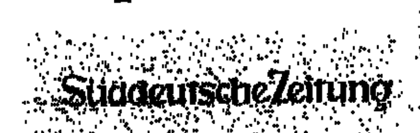
Unofficial government responses to Mr Perle's comments showed signs of irritation. There was talk of intervention and of absurd statements. Besides, the Federal government did not grant East Germany loans.

Rejoinders of this kind lack the clout of others that weren't made. True, the one German state does not lend money to the other. The banks do the lending.

But there *is* the swing, or interest-free overdraft in intra-German trade, a kind of permanent free credit facility with a current ceiling of DM850m.

Private loans negotiated by the banks are underwritten by the Federal government, which amounts to an indirect subsidy.

A more pointed rejoinder to Mr Perle's advice would surely have been a reference to the $600m loan to East Germany arranged by a consortium of



American banks in 1985 — and on the best terms East Berlin could hope for at the time without political strings.

But that would merely be part of the parry and thrust of debate and not the best objection to what Mr Perle has in mind as a close associate of Defence Secretary Weinberger's.

Without perhaps being aware of the fact, in calling on Bonn to step up its defence commitments and scale down its Deutschlandpolitik Mr Perle has dealt a blow at the bedrock of intra-German relations, an unwritten law almost constitutional in character.

West Germany joined Nato on the strict understanding that it retained a *legitimate* special relationship with the other German state.

The swing was arranged by Konrad Adenauer, Bonn Chancellor from 1949 to 1963; so was customs exemption across the Iron Curtain, making East Germany to all intents and purposes the 13th member of the European Community.

The blow strikes even deeper — at the very linchpin of intra-German relations.

Since 1982 the Kohl government has been painstakingly keen to ensure that not a shadow of doubt is cast on the Federal Republic's firm ties with the West. In return it has demanded and been granted a special political concession.

Bonn has been assured of extra leeway for special detente, now known as "community of responsibility," in Germany — a special relationship heedless of the chills and thaws in relations between the superpowers.

So it was far from sound, especially for so astute a strategist as Richard Perle, to advise the West Germans to stop using cash as a carrot in its dealings with the East Germans.

He really ought to know that German and American interests coincide here. Ties between Bonn and East Berlin involve and entangle the GDR, the Soviet Union's front-line satellite.

The longer leash Bonn is allowed in dealings with East Berlin, the closer its ties with the United States will be, there then being not the slightest possibility of a conflict of objectives between alliance policy and Deutschlandpolitik.

But the Perle interview contains other comments Bonn would do well to heed most attentively. Western Europe, he says, has long outstripped the United States in population and GNP.

Why, he then asks, does it spend only half as much as America does on defence and at the same time feel entitled by force of habit to regularly belabour the United States with a chorus of protest?

This is not just the view of Mr Perle as a Pentagon hawk but of the bulk of the Washington establishment, ranging from Republicans such as Henry Kissinger to Democrats such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, with presumptive Presidential candidates such as Sam Nunn and Gary Hart in midfield.

They all call for the withdrawal of US forces from Europe — in the spirit of Reykjavik, with the emphasis on denuclearisation, making conventional combat strength more valuable than ever.

When even level-headed friends of Nato such as Dr Kissinger are talking in terms of Euro-egoism the Europeans are going to have to come up with something more than figures repeated in prayer-wheel fashion to prove to the United States what America has never believed: that burdens are fairly shared in the North Atlantic pact.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 December 1986)

Continued from page 1

stripped of power. Will, for that matter, reactionaries in Moscow use it to discredit Mr Gorbachov's risky innovations?

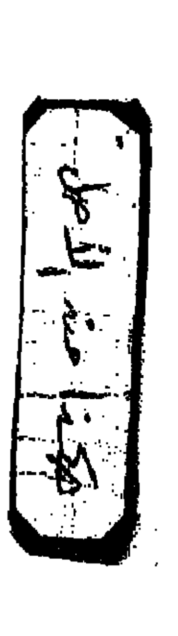
In Kazakhstan anti-Russian national sentiment, which has always opposed Russian rule, will have played a leading role.

The third news item, the *Pravda* article on Mr Brezhnev's 80th birthday, indicates that Mr Gorbachov is resolved to go ahead with his policy come what may.

The article amounts to a reckoning with the old, hard and fast system. It could encourage freethinkers, just as the release of Sakharov and the pardon of his wife may encourage them...

But the new Soviet leadership is evidently prepared to run risks.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 20 December 1986)



Soviet talk on arms faces credibility gap

Do the Russians seriously mean what they say about making first moves in disarmament? Are we justified in hoping for a reduction in East-West confrontation in the military sector?

These are critical questions repeatedly asked by people in Western democracies who feel insecure after decades of Soviet disinformation.

This insecurity is probably why Soviet announcements that it was planning to withdraw missiles from northern Europe, especially the Kola peninsula, which is armed to the teeth, didn't win the applause it had hoped for.

Western diplomats and military experts reservedly termed "an interesting basis for discussion" what Ambassador Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna CSCE review conference, and Soviet military expert General Tatarnikov said in the Austrian capital and what Mr Ligachov of the Soviet politbureau had to say in Helsinki.

The Russians put forward in Helsinki and Vienna a graduated plan for a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. Such plans have been hampered for one by the enormous concentration of medium-range missiles on the Kola peninsula.

The first stage was said to have been a generous first move by Moscow, already quietly and confidentially undertaken (as so often in the military sector).

Launching pads for SS-4, SS-5 and SS-20 missiles are said to have been dismantled. Many medium-range missiles are also said to have been withdrawn from the Leningrad and Baltic regions.

The Russians naturally now expect the West to make counter-concessions. The second stage in a four-stage plan provides for the withdrawal of Soviet nuclear submarines from the Baltic if the Baltic states and Norway agree to a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

Tempting though this proposal may sound and desirable though it may be to make headway toward disarmament and detente, Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's 3 November 1983 comment is still valid.

In an address to the Paasikivi Society in Helsinki Herr Genscher said nuclear-free zones only make sense when they cannot be reached by nuclear weapons.

So it is understandable that the Soviet initiatives announced and outlined in Helsinki and Vienna have failed both to achieve the hoped-for media success and to generate widespread enthusiasm.

This applies in equal measure to the countries directly affected and to the United States, which as the Western superpower and leading member of the North Atlantic pact feels responsible for European security.

So it was hardly surprising that Under-Secretary Gaffney of the US Defence Department told a televised press conference in Washington he did not feel the Soviet proposal was a breakthrough to effective disarmament moves.

European journalists — from Bonn, The Hague, Geneva, Stockholm and Oslo — took part in the press conference.

Mr Gaffney was doubtless right in noting that the SS-20 forms part of a mobile system that in an emergency can be returned at shortest notice to its old locations. It can also be used from elsewhere to threaten Central Europe.

At the press conference the Americans made it clear, incidentally, that they still reject test bans and want to continue to be able to test the reliability of their nuclear weapons so as not to be taken by surprise by new Soviet weapons.

They also have serious doubts whether the Russians are telling the whole truth when they claim to have eliminated the threat to Central Europe posed by missiles based on the Kola peninsula.

So confidence-building, an essential prerequisite for effective disarmament agreements, is clearly in a bad way, and past Soviet (dis)information policy is largely to blame.

When Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ilyichov was asked in spring 1981 about medium-range missiles on the Kola peninsula he denied that missiles were stationed there.

The Soviet Union, keen to enlist Scandinavian support for a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, long preferred not to admit that intermediate nuclear forces stationed on the Kola peninsula included both missiles capable of reaching targets in Central Europe and shorter-range missiles aimed at targets in neighbouring Scandinavian countries.

In connection with the alleged withdrawal of these missiles the Russians have now admitted, almost as an afterthought, that missiles the existence of which they denied for years were in fact stationed in the peninsula.

That is why Americans have so much doubt about such Soviet statements and again shows how important confidence-building is as a step toward disarmament.

The Russians would be well advised to recall the rules agreed in Stockholm and start by inviting Western and neutral observers to inspect their facilities on the Kola peninsula.

Siegfried Löffler

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 17 December 1986)

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■ THE GENERAL ELECTION

How the parties stand on foreign, defence policies

The Greens' election manifesto calls for West Germany to pull out of Nato, for missiles deployed here to be taken away and for the armed forces to be heavily pruned. The Social Democrats want a nuclear-free corridor in Europe; the CDU/CSU and the Free Democrats are pinning their hopes on big-power negotiations in Geneva. But there are differences within factions inside parties on defence and foreign policy. In this article for *Der Tagesspiegel*, Dietrich Möller looks at the where the parties stand.

Neither politicians nor voters seriously believe that a member of the Greens could become foreign minister or defence minister in Bonn after the general election.

The general secretary of the CDU, Heiner Geissler, however, talks of a "fateful election" and expresses concern that the Greens might in future have a decisive say in Bonn's foreign and security policies.

The foreign and security policies of the other major political parties in the Federal Republic are not that dissimilar, at least not to the extent that one or the other party need worry about the fate of the Republic if their respective political rivals win the election.

The FDP, SPD, CDU and CSU have unreservedly declared their support for the Nato alliance as the guarantor of security.

Each of these parties regards the alliance as the only possible basis for efforts to control and reduce arms.

None of them feel that military security and political détente are mutually incompatible.

On the contrary, they all feel that these two factors complement one another.

Within this framework the CDU, CSU, SPD and FDP elaborate the various forms of intensive East-West cooperation.

The Greens are the only party which regards Nato as a threat to peace. This is why they call for Germany's withdrawal from the alliance.

In their manifesto they claim that gradual unilateral disarmament is the right approach.

The medium-range missiles deployed in the Federal Republic, the Greens claim, should be "immediately and unreservedly" dismantled and Bonn's Nato partners should pull their troops out of Germany.

Bonn's defence budget, says the manifesto, should be cut back by 35 per cent so as to stop the procurement of arms, military research and the extension of military facilities.

The size of the Bundeswehr should also be drastically reduced.

The Greens support a concept of "social defence", "which excludes any military option", a purely pacifist stance.

The "established" parties, on the other hand, are firmly convinced that the Federal Republic must be able to defend itself militarily.

These parties regard it as their duty to ensure that the Bundeswehr is equipped accordingly.

Differences exist between the SPD, FDP and the CDU/CSU with regard to the analysis of the threat and the implications of this analysis.

The CDU/CSU, for example, feels that there is more cause for concern about the risk of a military East-West conflict in Europe and the possibilities of military blackmail by the Soviet Union than the SPD.

The Social Democrats would like to see the defence budget lowered to the percentage share level of the total budget which existed when the SPD/FDP government was in power.

Although the FDP's position moves closer to the SPD on this issue it continues to back its coalition partner in public discussions on the topic.

As opposed to the CDU/CSU and FDP the Social Democrats do not believe that their ideas of a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe as the first step towards a nuclear-free Europe would jeopardise the security of the Federal Republic of Germany, even in the face of Eastern bloc superiority in the field of conventional weapons.

Such a corridor, the SPD maintains, together with a zone free of chemical (C) weapons would be conducive to disarmament.

If it wins the election, however, the SPD has stated that it will not make such moves unilaterally or against Bonn's Nato partners.

This more or less means that these plans stand little chance of being implemented.

The only unilateral step the Social Democrats would take is to terminate the government agreement with the USA on West German participation in the SDI project.

The CDU/CSU and FDP for their part are primarily pinning their arms control hopes on American-Soviet negotiations in Geneva.

They agree with the SPD that medium-range nuclear missiles could be "negotiated away" in Geneva and that agreement could be reached there on a reduction by half of the arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons and on the limitation of space armament.

Nevertheless, there are clear differences of opinion within the Bonn government coalition and even between and within the CDU and CSU.

This results in some odd situations surfacing.

The SPD, FDP and certain members of the CDU and CSU unreservedly support the zero option for medium-range missiles, whereas other members of the CDU and CSU have their misgivings about this approach.

A similar situation exists with respect to the reduction of strategic systems and space armament including SDI.

The reasons for this stance are apparently not only of a military and security policy nature, but also ideologically motivated.

The more conservative the politicians, the greater the desire to put even more pressure on the Soviet Union and draw up agreements on terms dictated by the West.

This attitude has an impact on several foreign policy fields, e.g. on relations to Moscow and the Eastern bloc countries including East Germany, on the Third World and thus on Bonn's development policy and, finally, on relations to the USA.

This leads to constant dispute within the coalition, sometimes vehement and sometimes more restrained.

On the one hand, there are those who seek détente and cooperation via compromises and bearing in mind mutual interests, who do not wish to make the granting of development aid dependent on the political good conduct of the recipient countries, and who do not unquestioningly support American policies.

This is the majority, a majority which becomes an absolute majority if the SPD is included.

the right other hand, there is a minority in the broad wing spectrum of the CDU and views cooperation majority of the CSU which ly and distrustful with the East sceptical-Third World country which feels that aid to primarily to benefit should be granted of Germany itself, and Federal Republic conservative wing of the support the the USA and believes that this Republicans in mines Washington's policies. determines

There are also differences of opinion over the policy towards the European Community.

These differences result from the variety of interests to be voiced, for example farmers and the steel industry.

There are two aspects which act as a clamp in this policy field holding the SPD, FDP and CDU/CSU together.

One aspect is the objective supported by all these parties of trying to enable the Community to develop into a politically unified and independent entity.

The second aspect is the conviction that the Federal Republic should cooperate particularly closely with France in all fields.

The election campaign speeches on foreign and security policy do not reveal the kind of irreconilable differences between the CDU/CSU, SPD and FDP as in the case of economic, fiscal and social policy issues.

They tend to be critical remarks on certain opinions more than anything else, in line with the motto that exaggeration illustrates matters even more clearly.

Dietrich Möller

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 18 December 1986)

The campaign loses a lot of its sting

The campaign for the general election this month lost a lot of its sting after the *Land* elections in Hamburg and Bavaria, where the Social Democrats took hammerings.

Now, the election seems to be a foregone conclusion, and rival campaigners are not even trying to disguise it.

Discussion has turned to after the election if the expected — a coalition victory — happens: who to blame for the SPD defeat and how the spoils of victory will be shared out within the coalition.

The fight no longer seems to be taking place between the two political camps, but within them.

The Social Democrats find themselves in a state of galloping self-disintegration.

Their candidate for chancellor, Johannes Rau, and the party itself appear to have doubts about each other.

The beseeching phrases uttered by "Brother Johannes", as Rau is nicknamed, are beginning to sound painfully embarrassing. "In love with success" is just one example.

In the meantime everyone knows that Rau is doing his utmost to keep damage to a minimum.

He is already fighting for his future position in North Rhine-Westphalia and his influence in the party leadership after the election.

Those Social Democrats who regard the SPD's current problems as confirmation of their doubts about Johannes Rau are oversimplifying matters.

Admittedly, the idea of a purely personality-oriented campaign without greater emphasis of key issues was too superficial.

But, those who now complain that the Social Democrats failed to discuss the issues clearly enough with the coalition or the Greens should not act as if the SPD would have been able to do so in the first place.

In reality, such fundamental discussions would have asked too much of the respective wings of the divided party.

One of the main reasons why Rau was chosen as candidate for chancellorship was that the vote-winning appeal he showed in the North Rhine-Westphalia Land election lulled the party into believing that it could avoid the painstaking process of clarifying its fundamental positions, at least until after the election.

If Rau now fails miserably it is not his fault, but the party's.

It comes as no surprise that party chairman Willy Brandt is also beginning to employ the tactics of keeping damage to a minimum. He is in the line of fire too.

At the moment there is a lot of infighting within the government coalition.

To begin with, the disputes between the CSU and the FDP may have had a certain entertainment value in line with the motto: foes one minutes, friends again the next.

In the meantime, however, this form of internal election campaigning is — as Helmut Kohl once pointed out — absolutely intolerable.

The numerous slanging matches between CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss and the FDP could keep a whole batch of lawyers busy dealing with libel or slander suits.

Such outbursts, however, tend to destroy the belief that the parties involved are willing or able to assume joint political responsiblity.

Not even the hope of attracting fringe voters can justify this kind of propagandist extremism.

What is more, disputes of this nature already stake out political positions for the coalition talks scheduled to take place in February.

Even political rivals should not accuse each other of being responsible for future terrorist attacks.

Anyone who does so makes a mockery of the parliamentary system and offends the voters they regard as susceptible to such propaganda.

This rapid decline in moral standards shows that the tenet that democracy runs the risk of being damaged if a government has no really effective political opposition is right.

Shadow-boxing of this kind also postpones the necessary clarification of the real problems and perspectives the voters are supposed to decide upon.

There is more than enough to clarify: the prospects for arms control, the future energy policy following the Chernobyl reactor accident, environmental protection following Chernobyl and the pollution of the Rhine by a Basel-based chemicals company, overcoming unemployment, and adjusting the welfare benefits system to changing demographic structures.

Election campaigns are not academic seminars on political issues. Another key aspect is the distribution of power.

If key political issues, however, are only broached cursorily politics is bound to suffer from this fact during the next legislative period.

Robert Leicht

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 19 December 1986)

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Reversal in fortunes: a minister comes back from the edge of the abyss

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

No one knows what ...ancellor Kohl's ...k like if the coal- new Cabinet selection this month. ition wins the ge... ...ers seem safe. One of Several ...ably the Defence Minister, these is ...örner. This marks a enormous Man... ...fortunes for a man who at one ch... stage had been just about written off. The lowest point in Wörner's life as a minister was in 1984 when the counterintelligence unit, MAD, charged that a senior army officer, General Günther Kiessling, regularly frequented a homosexual night club in Cologne.



Flying high again ... Manfred Wörner. (Photo: Werek)

The general was suspended and the minister threw his support behind MAD's allegations. The charges turned out to be false and General Kiessling was reinstated.

It seemed that Herr Wörner's future was in the balance. But now he has bounced back. He might not remain at Defence, but he made up so much ground in 1986 that a place for him in the new government is likely to be found.

His comeback was never clearer than at the end of October when he went with Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher on the Chancellor's official visit to the United States. This was significant, because a Defence Minister doesn't usually go on these trips.

The Chancellor is unlikely to have taken with him just before the general election, to pay his respects to his country's major ally, a man he planned to drop in his next Cabinet reshuffle.

Herr Wörner has steadily regained ground since the Kiessling affair in early 1984, surely an affair only a Minister in a Cabinet headed by Helmut Kohl could possibly have survived.

Slowly but surely Herr Wörner has consolidated his hard-hit reputation. His performance has, after all, been creditable in many ways.

In the early days of the outgoing Bundestag, nearly four years ago, he earned the Chancellor's respect by unswervingly supporting Nato missile deployment and, in particular, by convincingly doing so in public.

He later extended conscription to 18 months and, overriding stiff resistance from within the armed forces, retired 1,200 officers early.

He has drawn up plans to maintain the peacetime strength of the Bundeswehr, 495,000 men, in the 1990s despite the decline in the number of recruits.

A further feather in his cap is that despite Finance Minister Stoltenberg's spending cuts the Defence Ministry estimates have increased as a percentage of budget expenditure.

The Defence Ministry's research and development spending has also been increased and the Bundeswehr's technology concept brought to its conclusion.

Herr Wörner has earned the esteem of men in uniform by strengthening awareness of the traditional values of military service.

In the Chancellor's eyes his reputation is sure not to have suffered from his endorsement of arms cooperation with France. Fellow-Nato Defence Ministers hold him in high esteem too.

These are points the Chancellor cannot fail to have appreciated. In the party-political context Herr Wörner has strengthened his hand by pursuing a CDU security policy to redress the balance of Herr Genscher's FDP foreign policy, as it were.

The Defence Minister has regained his status as a linchpin of Chancellor Kohl's Cabinet, shrewdly steering a wide berth of issues the Chancellor preferred not to raise, such as the admission of women to the armed forces and the conventional defence of Europe from Soviet missile systems.

Also, no-one in the CDU/CSU has wanted to go to Defence, a portfolio fraught with risk.

Whether Herr Wörner will have an easy time at the Defence Ministry if he holds on to the job is another matter. Critics say he has merely papered over a number of problems, skilfully but without coming up with a permanent solution to them.

Manpower is one such problem. Is he on safe ground there? He will have to enlist women in one way or another, and even that may not be enough.

The new Bundeswehr reserve concept has yet to be finalised. New weapons have been safely budgeted for at present, but no-one can guarantee sufficient funds in the 1990s.

Herr Wörner knows from bitter experience — the Kiessling affair — how far and fast the fall from grace can be in politics.

His comeback will do him little long-term good unless he finally succeeds in showing he has manpower, arms and financial planning firmly under control. He has yet to pass the acid test.

Heinz-Peter Finke

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 11 December 1986)





Always the optimist ... Friedrich Ruth. (Photo: Poly-Press)

A disarmament expert gets diplomatic post

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Friedrich Ruth has laid the groundwork of Bonn's arms control and disarmament policy for the past 20 years, serving successive Foreign Ministers and Federal governments since 1966.

Working punctiliously and dedicatedly, he has long been a firm fixture in Bonn and in a wide range of consultations with the allies and with individual Warsaw Pact states, including East Germany.

The long years as disarmament commissioner to the Federal government have now been rewarded, as it were, by his appointment as German ambassador to Italy. He remains a member of the UN advisory council on disarmament.

A quiet and cheerful optimist with a constantly cordial disposition, he had expected to be able to leave Bonn feeling sure that a US-Soviet medium-range missile agreement would bring a difficult chapter in disarmament to a favourable conclusion from the Federal Republic's viewpoint.

Much has now been called into question, and security policy has once again been roped in as a domestic political issue. So Herr Ruth would urgently like to make all possible progress be seen to be feasible.

He has tried to do so in his weekly briefings to the Bundestag arms control and disarmament sub-committee. His exchange of views with MPs has given him a clearer insight into political trends and added a political aspect to his official responsibilities.

At the Foreign Office the disarmament commissioner has the rank of a head of department. As a Christian Democrat he enjoys the confidence of both Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher.

So he has been able to go about his job much as he saw fit. Herr Genscher has only intervened during the SDI negotiations when, for a while, he wanted to handle matters himself.

Friedrich Ruth, 59, graduated in English studies, but not before being appointed an auxiliary teacher at the

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■ PERSPECTIVE

A tale of two nations — alliance strength lies in differences, not similarities

This article was written for *Die Zeit* by the American ambassador in Bonn, Richard Burt.

The great analyst of the newly-independent United States, Alexis de Tocqueville, once noted that an outsider's perspective is valuable to an insider because it is unimpeded by the historical, social and cultural prejudices that cloud the insider's view.

As a journalist, I found de Tocqueville often right: A newcomer to a foreign country can sometimes notice things that other people have long ago learned to take for granted.

Although I have only been in the Federal Republic of Germany for a little more than a year, I offer my observations about life in this country with the hope that they might stimulate thinking both about developments here and in the German-American relationship.

During the past year, I have come to the conclusion that, in the postwar period, a myth developed about our relationship — it is that our societies are in most respects similar. It is true that Germany and the United States are today both Western, industrialised, consumer societies with similar democratic institutions and values.

America has left an undeniable imprint on this country, much of it dating from the reconstruction of the 1950s. The many similarities stemming from this period are so great that, when I wander down city streets in Germany, I sometimes catch myself thinking that I am in the United States (except, of course, on most Saturday afternoons, when all the shops are closed).

Because we perceive ourselves as being so much alike, our peoples and even our governments become confused and concerned when we react differently to political and economic developments.

Not understanding the basis for these differences, we then too easily succumb to the temptation to talk about "crises" in our relationship. This reaction is, of course, wrong. Our countries do differ in important and interesting ways. These differences, in turn, highlight contrasting strengths and weaknesses that I believe offer rewarding new opportunities for German-American cooperation.

There is one overarching similarity between our countries: we are both immensely diverse. In America, given our ethnic mix and continental size, diversity has become almost a cliche. It is however surprising to an outsider like me that a country as geographically compact and ethnically homogeneous as the Federal Republic can possess a texture and diversity that rivals that of the United States.

During these past months, I have got to know northern Germans steeped in Protestant and Hanseatic traditions. I have also discovered the political heritage of predominantly Catholic Bavaria. I have compared the heavy industry of the Ruhr with the high-tech companies in Swabia. In my new Rhineland home of Bonn, Catholic and napoleonic influences are readily evident. And throughout and in-between, I have noted the differences and distinctions in the dialects, in the different architecture, and in the things that one can do with grapes and hops.

The Federal Republic is also distinct and perhaps unique in Europe in its lack of a single capital. While most countries have only the capital city, West Germany has several. Its media capital is Hamburg, the financiers sit in Frankfurt, the industrialists in Duesseldorf, Munich is the fashion capital, and both Munich and Stuttgart claim high-tech. There is a national capital in Berlin and a political capital in Bonn. Each of these "capitals" itself is unique and thus colours its contribution to the texture of German society.

There are common, truly German characteristics that, in an overall sense, distinguish Germany from the United States. For example, German society is more homogeneous in both ethnic and economic terms. Due to the achievements of the German economy since World War II, which has produced one of the highest standards of living in the world, and the social stability that has emerged from these achievements, the average German, even of the "working class", strikes me as more middle-class in outlook and attitude than his French, British or American counterparts.

His employment and working conditions assure him of unparalleled job security. A reliable social welfare net guarantees him a basic level of health care and social security. He feels safe on his streets and in his home. The result, despite all the talk about German *angst*, is a society that is basically settled and prosperous.

By contrast, the United States continues to be a restless land of emigrants who have eluded assimilation. But the failure to form a truly homogeneous society may be one of America's biggest successes. The mix of ethnic groups has resulted in a richness in language, cuisine, fine arts, and approaches to problem-solving that is unique in the world. This uniqueness, however, brings with it a social tension and occasional strife. Our always changing, driven country manifests itself, at least in part, in social and economic fluidity and geographical mobility.

DIE ZEIT

One hears about the American dream and about rags-to-riches successes. Such transformations *still* occur today and can be attributes to a social flexibility that is less evident in this country. It seems to me that individuals in the Federal Republic by and large enter a career early and stay with it throughout their lifetime. Attorneys tend to remain attorneys. Politicians often begin their careers in political youth groups in university and work their way up. Academics tend to remain in the universities or the institutes. Some top bankers and businessmen began with their firms as early as age 16.

In America, on the other hand, a greater blurring of career lines occurs. Lawyers become businessmen and managers. Businessmen and politicians become heads of universities. Professors found companies. Movie actors become successful politicians and even statesmen. My own experience is far from unique. I began my career in the academic world and subsequently took up journalism. I then moved into the bureaucratic realm of government and from there into the more political life of the ambassador.

Social flexibility encourages innovation and offers opportunities, but these are opportunities to fail as well as to succeed. Failure in the American system can be fraught with great risks, especially since our social welfare net is not as comprehensive as the German.

At the same time, however, the American system can forgive failure. Germans may find it hard to comprehend that businessmen in the United States can fail in one business venture and still be able to obtain financing for a second. Because the American system has the flexibility to accommodate failure and to reward successful risk-taking, risk-taking has become endemic to our society.

By comparison, Germany seems to me to be more risk-averse. Indeed there was, I am told, some difficulty in finding an acceptable translation of the term "venture capital". "Risikokapital" was considered and rejected. People were put off by the "risk" and its implications.

The more structured German society brings with it its own benefits. The veteran German *Beamte* (civil servant) or politician nominated to a senior government post will bring to his job a collective knowledge, a professionalism, a historical perspective, and a set of well-hewn skills that equip him to take the long view of changing developments.

There is thus greater continuity in *German economic decision-making and* foreign policy than in the United States.

In the United States, officials move in and out of government relatively quickly and thus new ideas are more easily introduced into the system. But in the rapid tempo of American government decision-making, there is often a tendency towards the quick fix.

This is even true in the business communmity where American firms seem more driven by short-term profit, with quarterly earnings playing a key role in shareholder satisfaction, compared to German business which seeks long-term success, security and, arguably, an "acceptable" as opposed to a maximum margin of profitability.

Another important contrast is in our respective geographic mobility. Nearly 20 per cent of the American population moves house each year — a statistic my German friends have trouble believing. The Germans, by and large, are more unmovable.

Americans move for any number of reasons but most move because of employment. In this respect, especially, there is a marked difference between Americans and almost all Europeans. For example, I recently met a southern German industrialist who needed to hire 500 skilled mechanical engineers. He told me that his company had approached several unemployed engineers in the north who preferred to stay out of work than to move south.

The difference in mobility between our two societies even shows itself in house construction. Houses in Germany are built to last: Stone and block are preferred building materials. By contrast, the typical American home is built on the "balloon frame" model consisting of wooden timbers with walls that are basically hollow. Interestingly, the balloon frame was initially conceived for use by the American frontiersmen in their travels to the Great West since it was lightweight, relatively easy to assemble and, most importantly, eminently portable.



Being an outsider sometimes helps ... US envoy Richard Burt. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Of course, there are also costs associated with America's mobility. A developed sense of tradition and local community, which I have often detected in the Federal Republic often eludes us and probably contributes to what David Riesman in his well-known book, *The Lonely Crowd*, describes as a lack of identity and belonging in parts of modern urban America.

By virtue of moving so often, Americans have had to learn to make contacts quickly. German visitors to the United States are often overwhelmed by the hospitality of Americans and their willingness to open their homes and hearts.

Germans typically enjoy and remember these experiences which, they often tell me, stand in contrast to the more reserved German approach. Germans, on the other hand, make friends for life. Americans make friends more easily but drift more easily apart. Many Germans have told me they feel this reflects a certain superficiality in American life.

Clearly, the more ordered and less mobile German society promotes a feeling of community and a sense of belonging. When the welfare state is added to the equation, a much more developed desire that the outcome ultimately be "fair" results. America, socially, economically and politically, can be a rough and tumble place. All the participants will not achieve the same result. But our society certainly generates opportunities for them to try. In short, where German society stresses the need of fairness, American society emphasises opportunity.

The recognition that we are not the same is not only important in understanding why we from time to time respond differently to the same developments. Equally important, it is also the best reason we have for strengthening our relationship.

Our common strategic interests make German-American cooperation necessary. Our common political values make cooperation possible. But it is our differing strengths and weaknesses that make cooperation so potentially rewarding. By virtue of our differences, we both bring attributes to our relationship from which the other can learn and profit.

For example, Germany's social market economy is offering new orient-

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■ TRADE

Imbalances still the main cause of controversy

There is wide-ranging consensus on what needs to be done, writes Free Democrat Count Otto Lambsdorff, formerly Bonn Economic Affairs Minister. Agriculture protectionism needs to be reduced; so does the American budget deficit; Europe must boost growth; and the Japanese must let in more imports. But the determination to act has so far been lacking. This article first appeared in *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

The framework conditions governing world trade have changed a lot since the autumn of 1985.

First, the oil price has halved. Second, the US dollar has declined from an unrealistically high rate.

Third, the opening session of the eighth Gatt round, the Uruguay round, has gave an important signal for free trade.

Yet despite this, the overall climate of international economic and trade policy remains chilly.

The main causes continue to be imbalances in import-export trade, in other words mainly the gigantic US current account deficit, this year totalling roughly $140bn, and the record surpluses of Japan, $82bn, and the Federal Republic of Germany, $30bn.

The Hydra of Third World debts also regularly rears one or other of its ugly heads. This year's victims were mainly developing countries hard hit by the decline in oil prices, such as Mexico, Venezuela and Nigeria.

Last but not least, heavy exchange-rate fluctuations in recent years have triggered a monetary policy debate that includes several alarming aspects.

The halving of oil prices has eased by roughly $60bn the oil import burden on industrialised countries. That is a big growth stimulus for the OECD countries, partly offset of course by import cuts forced on Opec countries by lower oil revenues.

Economy policy faces the challenge of using lower oil prices to promote growth. But it would a mistake to imagine we can merely jump on the bandwaggon of lower oil prices and give the economy an extra fillip.

So any idea of redirecting lower oil prices to the Treasury in the form of higher oil duties to finance employment schemes must be set aside.

Ideas of this kind are based on the view, frequently disproved yet apparently ineradicable, that the state can handle cash more efficiently than private enterprise or domestic households.

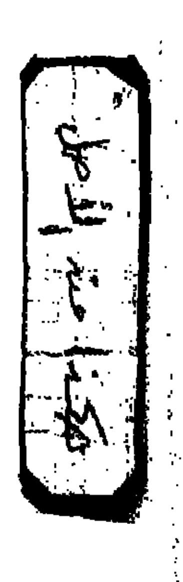
And let no-one be misled by the one-off decline in import prices, brought about by oil and exchange rate fluctuations, into believing prices are as stable as they seem to be.

In particular, let them pay no heed to those who call for a relaxation of strict monetary discipline to lend the economy an extra boost.

The Bundesbank has rightly allowed money supply targets to be overshot and shrewdly resisted any further demands for lower interest rates so as not to give rise to expectations of inflation.

I view with some trepidation the risk of parties to the forthcoming annual wage talks round overestimating the leeway for wage increases by failing to realise that next year, unlike 1986, there will be no terms of trade gains to share out.

Lower oil prices would prove a Trojan Horse if the governments of industrialised countries were to shirk their duty to stimulate growth and make do with the impetus generated by oil prices.



That would be extremely shortsighted and greatly to the detriment of medium-term growth prospects.

Heavily indebted oil-exporting developing countries such as Mexico, with foreign debts totalling roughly $100bn, Venezuela ($35bn) and Nigeria ($21bn) are definitely not on the sunny side of the street in international economic affairs.

For them the oil price decline has created further finance problems and made extra loans over and above rescheduling requirements necessary.

Yet that is no reason for abandoning the successful international debt strategy pursued in recent years.

To call for a partial or total debt moratorium or for interest payments to be limited to a percentage of export earnings is to advocate a slap in the face for potential creditors, especially commercial banks, and is, in the final analysis, detrimental to the interests of countries in debt.

Imbalances in world trade impose a more serious burden on international economic relations than all other issues.

In the wake of exchange rate changes and some bridging of the growth gap real flows of trade have begun to be rectified.

But this trend has yet to be registered in foreign trade statistics, in which the countervailing price effect of dollar devaluation predominates.

This factor is likely to decline in importance, yet even in the medium term higher US deficits and Japanese surpluses are expected by the International Monetary Fund.

By 1991, according to IMF estimates, the balance of foreign trade will have been restored only in the Federal Republic.

It is gratifying to note that the United States, under pressure from catastrophic foreign trade statistics, has shown greater



readiness to cooperate in monetary policy, as agreed at the September 1985 gathering in the Plaza Hotel, New York.

Inasmuch as this gathering served to bring the dollar back into line with economic realities by breaking the back of speculation economic policy cooperation of this kind can be said to be of use.

But in the meantime the debate has taken a wrong turn. Target zones for exchange rates is the latest catchphrase, with the agreement between America and Japan on the yen-dollar exchange rate arguably a pilot project.

In reality this is merely old wine in new bottles. Proposals of this kind basically amount to no more than a desire to revert to more or less fixed exchange rates.

Advocates of this idea have clearly forgotten how badly the international economy fared with fixed exchange rates in the early 1970s.

Fixed exchange rates mean abandoning monetary autonomy and dispensing with a major means of fighting inflation.

A system of fixed exchange rates cannot work unless there is close international coordination of economic policy and largely uniform results. We are still well short of both.

Let no-one harbour illusions that the US current account can be balanced by further jawboning or manipulation of the exchange rate of the dollar.

The root cause of America's problem is the burgeoning budget deficit, which totalled $221bn in the last fiscal year.

Traditionally low US savings rates are hopelessly overtaxed and cannot possibly finance both this budget deficit and essential investment.

So the United States depends on an inflow of funds from other countries.

In recent years foreign capital has been attracted by high interest rates and a high dollar exchange rate, with the result that the United States became the world's largest net importer of capital in a mere four years.

The other side of the coin is, inevitably, a correspondingly high current account deficit. That cannot possibly be avoided.

So America cannot redress its foreign trade balance in the long term without substantial cuts in the US budget deficit.

Given continued high trade deficits the United States has increased pressure on the Japanese and German governments to give domestic demand an extra boost.

The Americans expect this fillip to improve their chances of exporting US goods to Japan, Germany and other countries where growth is stimulated by the Japanese and German booster measures demanded.

Japan has appeased the United States to some extent by means of a DM47bn programme to boost domestic demand, a 0.5-per-cent bank rate reduction and the exchange rate agreement mentioned above.

In my view these measures are mere eyewash. The international economy would have derived greater benefit from further moves by Tokyo to open Japanese markets to foreign competition.

The German government has for good reasons resisted such demands for short-lived economic stimuli. The Federal Republic is unsuitable as a locomotive for the international economy.

We overtaxed our resources in trying to take on this role in 1978, yet we could still undertake a number of measures that would help the United States and serve our own interests too.

The question is not "whether" but "how" to set about it. What we don't need is a short-lived economic stampede. Stamina and sustained growth are the order of the day.

We particularly need to make good shortfalls in deregulation and privatisation and to drain the swamp of subsidies.

We also need a perceptible easing of the tax burden on both business and private households. It must amount to about DM45bn and be at least half-financed by scrapping subsidies.

A temporary increase in the net public-sector borrowing requirement is justifiable as a flanking measure; it does, after all, "purchase" growth potential.

The most serious threat to the international economy at present is the inclination to seek refuge in protectionism as a means of avoiding or delaying painful processes of domestic adjustment.

We have the US government to thank for preventing protectionist steam in Congress from coming to a head. But now the Democrats are in control of both Houses the President will find it even more difficult to keep Congressional temperatures below the boil.

There is, without doubt, a greater risk of industries such as textiles, steel, automobiles, footwear and agriculture gaining a hearing with their vociferous demands for import restrictions.

The terms of agreement reached by America and Japan are an *indication* of what could then lie ahead for us. The United States and Japan have practically shared out between them the international market for semiconductors.

That is a serious breach of the multinational spirit of Gatt and has rightly triggered a harsh rejoinder by the European Community.

This example alone shows how badly needed the Uruguay round is as a means of imposing Gatt discipline on new forms of protectionism, including such self-restraint agreements.

That, in my view, is why the decision reached in Punta del Este last September to open the eighth Gatt round is the most important and encouraging international economic policy decision reached in recent years.

The new Gatt round has set itself an ambitious schedule, with two issues probably commanding special attention.

First, services are to be included in a Gatt round for the first time ever. The service sector is particularly hidebound by regulations nearly everywhere.

If the Gatt round succeeded in reducing trade restrictions in this sector substantial growth potential might be triggered.

Second, agriculture is to be given prominence — and seems sure to be a particularly tricky issue.

In agriculture we have definitely reached the eleventh hour. Most major trade clashes of late have arisen in connection with agricultural policy.

A particularly annoying point is that the industrialised countries are exporting their agricultural problems to the Third World by competing with the developing countries in world markets by selling subsidised produce — while at the same time barring agricultural imports.

The new Gatt round presents an opportunity for controlled disarmament in the agriculture protectionism sector. It mustn't be missed, both for the developing countries' sake and for our own.

The international economy can never strike a perfect balance and it isn't true that one country can only make a profit at another's expense. But no-one can hope to derive lasting benefit from jumping on a bandwaggon powered by others' efforts.

So everyone is acting both in his own interest and in that of the international economy by putting his own house in order.

It is high time the United States reduced its budget deficit and stopped blaming its trading partners for home-grown problems.

The Europeans must boost growth, and that includes curbing over-regimentation in labour, capital and goods markets and introducing a system of taxation more favourable to growth and thereby improving the outlook for entrepreneurial risk.

The risk free enterprise is prepared to run is, after all, the bow wave of success.

The Japanese must grant imports readier access to their home market and develop domestic growth potential.

The highly indebted developing countries must lay the groundwork for healthy growth and an economic climate favourable to investment.

These are all points on which there is wide-ranging international consensus. What has so far been lacking is the determination to put them into practice.

Otto Graf Lambsdorff

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt Bonn, 18 December 1986)

■ AVIATION

Airbus deal boosts hopes of cash for new model

The 150-seat Airbus A 320 will begin going into service in 1988. The Japanese airline, Air Nippon, has placed firm orders worth about a million marks for 10 and options for another 10. The total of sales plus options now amounts to 389. Break-even target is 600, which means that it is at least within range. Airbus has never made a profit and keeps its head above water through state financing. Airbus Industrie is owned by West German, French, British and Spanish interests. The subsidies have drawn criticism from its arch-rival, Boeing, the loser in the case of the Nippon order: the aircraft being replaced by the A 320 are Boeing 737s. The counter accusation is that Boeing civilian operations benefit indirectly from big orders on its military production. The promising outlook for A 320 sales might help the firm's case when it seeks launching cash for two new Airbus models, the A 330 and the A 340, respectively medium-range and long-range aircraft, from the governments.

Despite several sensational sales contracts signed recently "the financial situation of the Airbus programme as a whole," to quote Deutsche Airbus GmbH, "has deteriorated considerably since early 1985."

Or, to quote the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry: "The financial risk has always been rated particularly high." Yet "all Federal governments" are said to have backed the programme.

The German aircraft industry restarted from scratch in 1955 when a post-war ban was lifted. It enjoyed initial support in the form of Defence Ministry contracts.

During the 1960s they were gradually joined by civil aviation projects, but with few exceptions they were not a financial success.

... and Paris agreed to join forces on the Airbus, initially a Franco-German project, later joined by Spain and Britain.

Airbus Industrie is a French company in which Aérospatiale and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) each hold 37.9, British Aerospace 20 and Casa, of Spain, 4.2 per cent.

"Deutsche Airbus GmbH," the Economic Affairs Ministry explains, "was set up by German industry to make possible the financing of the expensive pre-production research and development programme."

This explanation was forthcoming after publication of the Deutsche Airbus paper on Rescheduling Airbus Series Production.

Deutsche Airbus, a 100-per-cent MBB subsidiary, raises bank loans to cover these costs. The loans are guaranteed by the Federal government. They now amount, it is said, to DM2.7bn — the cost of ensuring current output.

Yet the Federal government has already bankrolled development by means of conditionally repayable loans amounting to 90 per cent of the cost of a new model and 85 per cent of that of an improved version of an existing one.

The government has also underwritten low-interest loans to help sell the Airbus in the face of low-interest terms offered by Boeing and McDonnell Douglas.

The Bonn budget has so far paid out DM4.1bn in cash in this way.

Airbus Industrie can currently supply two basic models: the twin-jet medium-range 250-seater A 300, launched in 1974, and the 200-seater A 310 launched in 1983.

The twin-jet short- and medium-haul 200-seater A 320 is not due to make it maiden flight until the end of February 1988.

It is not due to be delivered to customers until 1988, yet it is already a bestseller. Firm orders and options placed, over 200, are exceptionally high.

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, Deutsche Airbus supervisory board chairman, said last summer that the European aircraft industry, including its German division, had performed outstandingly well in the thick of international competition.

"This," he concluded, "must be an incentive for Europe to successfully continue as heretofore and decide in favour of additions to the Airbus family should the market so require."

There are plans for a twin-jet medium-haul 310-seater A 330 and a four-jet long-range 250-seater A 340.

Lufthansa, the German airline, is mainly interested in the long-haul version. The new versions are scheduled for delivery from spring 1992 and autumn 1991 respectively. And that will cost a packet.

The only money-spinners at present are the A 300 and A 310, and they aren't bringing in as much as was hoped.

First, the price war is a no-holds-barred struggle in which Airbus Industrie is fighting it out with two remaining US competitors.

Wherever Boeing are in competition with the Airbus they can offer airlines most lucrative terms and financial arrangements.

Second, aircraft are bought and sold in dollars, and in spring 1985 the dollar was worth roughly 70 per cent more in deutschemarks than it is today.

"As a consequence of this state of affairs, which has deteriorated considerably," the Economic Affairs Ministry says, "additional demands are bound to be made on the Federal budget."

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann has frequently stated of late that the Federal government is prepared to provide grants to help develop new Airbus models but that private enterprise ought to shoulder more of the burden of current production.

He would like to see MBB boost their capital outlay and other partners to chip in too.

There has been talk of BMW buying into MBB, while Daimler-Benz might commit themselves more heavily via their aerospace subsidiary Dornier.

All that can be said for sure at this stage is that whatever happens financial support from the Federal government will continue to be indispensable.

Economic Affairs Ministry officials refer to Deutsche Airbus estimates that liquidity should present no problems next year.

So there is time to rearrange project finances in time for 1988. Yet the 1987 budget already includes DM200m in subsidies toward the cost of developing new Airbus versions.

The Americans have pilloried Europe in recent months, accusing the Europeans of underhand subsidies. Herr Strauss and Herr Bangemann say in contrast that everything is strictly in keeping with Gatt provisions.

Herr Strauss is not alone in saying noone stands to benefit from a monopoly in this sector of the aircraft market. In the jumbo category, where Boeing are in a class of their own, prices have been steeply increased.

Besides, Europe needs an aircraft industry of its own because of spin-off in other sectors. So aerospace subsidies are a far cry from farm subsidies, it is argued.

The HWWA economic research institute, Hamburg, says in a report there is no way of telling whether this spin-off might not have arisen regardless of the aviation industry.

And if the industry fails to achieve satisfactory results despite subsidies, then the subsidies are surely dubious.

That, however, is not the point. Subsidies as such are not now at issue, merely the amount they are to total.

Hans-J. Mahnke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 December 1986)

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ations to the American economy. General Motors, with its new Saturn project of auto development, is already experimenting with a form of worker-management co-determination. German entrepreneurs, in turn, have begun to benefit from American venture capital approach to risk-financing.

German businessmen, meanwhile, also seem to be adopting an American style of cooperation between business and academia made famous by Silicon Valley in California and the Route 128 high-technology complex outside Boston. One good example I have seen here are the small biotechnology firms that have sprung up in Heidelberg with support from the city and Heidelberg University.

For the first 20 years of our post-war history, there was a tendency in Germany to underestimate or ignore our differences. The shattering experience of the Nazi years coupled with enlightened U.S. policy and the generosity of individual Americans in the immediate post-war years led many Germans, especially young ones, to view the United States as a model.

This was true across a broad spectrum of German society and extended even to intellectuals. However, this embrace of America may have been too uncritical and the German view of nearly every facet of American life too idealised.

This idealised view of America generated expectations that, in the end, could not be sustained. The turmoil of the late 60s and the early 70s triggered, in part, by the Vietnam War, divided America, but had perhaps an even greater impact on the Federal Republic.

We in the United States lost a war. Many Germans, particularly young ones, lost an ideal. For many young Germans the United States, which had been a model during the 1950s, became a counter-model during the 1970s.

In the 1980s, we are entering a new phase of our relationship, one in which Germans have neither an all-embracing nor an all-rejecting view of America, but rather more realistic expectations. I find that Germans are looking not only at the United States with an open mind but also at their own country. This includes recognising the differences between the two countries.

As a result, a new awareness of national identity here seems to be emerging. Forty years after World War II this development seems to me a natural phenomenon, one that can actually help strengthen the German-American relationship.

It is important, however, that this emerging identity not be shaped by a too limited or modest conception of the Federal Republic's role in the world.

Over the past year, many Germans have told me that Germany is a small, divided country stuck between two superpowers and that, even if it tried, it could not exercise significant influence. This German perception of itself is difficult for most Americans, including myself, to comprehend. When the United States and the rest of the world look at the Federal Republic they see the world's largest exporter, with the world's third largest defence budget, and the world's fourth largest economy. They see one of the world's most stable, prosperous, democratic, enlightened and, yes, powerful countries.

In other words, an outsider such as myself sees in the Federal Republic a country of great influence, a country that is widely respected abroad, and a country with substantial capabilities and growing responsibilities. Thus, the real risk to future German-American relations lies less in the differences I have described above than in a divergence of perception of the Federal Republic's potential and its appropriate role in the world.

Germany will, in my judgement, inevitably become more self confident and more assertive as the terrible trauma of the 1930s and 1940s grows more distant. The danger is that the renewal of confidence and assertiveness may not be matched by a full appreciation of its range of interests, possibilities and responsibilities for sustaining a peaceful, just and prosperous world order.

Although I think it unlikely, there is the possibility that a more confident Germany could also become a more inward-looking Federal Republic, content to play no more than a regional role, seeking to insulate itself from world events rather than to influence those events positively.

Such provincialism in this side of the Atlantic could lead America to react with a move toward greater unilateralism in its policy. The result would be an action-reaction sequence of intensified German provincialism and American unilateralism which would drive us apart, denying us the opportunity to take advantage of and benefit from the differences between our societies.

The means of preventing this, it seems to me, is for both our societies to search for ways to expand not just consultations, but shared responsibilities — each according to our differences. This is what, over the last year, I have called the "mature partnership". A mature partnership between our countries offers the most effective means for preventing this divergence of perception about Germany and at the same time offers the best vehicle for identifying and reaping the benefits from the differences between our countries.

By sharing international responsibilities, we will achieve a greater balance of influence across the Atlantic. The Federal Republic has a key role to play in the creation of a more united Western Europe capable of truly acting as the second pillar of the Atlantic Alliance.

And that second pillar could support a structure across the Atlantic within which we could adopt and share the different strengths in our respective societies. The inescapable fact of our relationship is not that we are twins; it is that we have a great deal to offer one another.

Richard Burt

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 5 December 1986)

■ NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Nobody bowled over in rush for viewdata

When the Bundespost began its viewdata service (Bildschirmtext or Btx) in 1983 it was expected that there would be a million subscribers within a few years.

There hasn't. Professor Hans-Jochen Schneider of Berlin's Technical University says there are only 55,000 customers. New customers are coming in at the rate of 1,500 to 2,000 per month.

Private people had not been rushing to subscribe as expected and, although there is now growing interest in commerce and industry, applications have been lower than anticipated.

Professor Schneider quotes the case of a major mail-order house in Fürth that has had Btx from the very beginning, but today less than a half of one per cent of turnover is done through it.

The main centre of interest in the system has shifted. According to Professor Schneider Btx is not an advertising medium but a communications system, similar to telex but cheaper.

Electrical engineering companies take orders from their dealers via Btx, banks use it so that their customers can handle their credits easier.

Usually a videoscreen form is filled out on the videoscreen and then passed to the company or bank by Btx.

There are advantages for all subscribers. Business hours are unimportant. Deliveries are noticeably speeded up. It usually takes a week to make a bank transfer, but using Btx the transaction is done instantly so that interest is not lost and the latest position of a bank account is immediately to hand.

Banks save money by employing fewer staff to handle customers' accounts.

Professor Sigram Schindler, also of the Berlin Technical University, said that technically there had been considerable changes in Btx.

At one time firms had to pay out DM800,000 to one million marks for hard and software and wait up to 15 months until they could be linked in as Btx subscribers. It is now possible to get into this videotext service for as little as DM50,000.

Subscribers can now also link up any number of their own computers, made suitable to the viewdata system, through a slide-in module.

A newly-developed slide-in module, that Schindler will shortly be unveiling, costs about DM500.The inclusion of personal or desk-top computers makes it possible to include an information and conference service which until now was not generally available.

The postal computer provides a subscriber with a "postbox" that the customer must activate himself through. Btx clients get detailed information automatically by just dialling a telephone number.

A subscriber can distribute circular letters to other subscribers in the postal computer service.

Discussions are possible in which all participants can make contributions. The discussion is not simultaneous so that participants have time to consider the points others have made. It is also impossible to interrupt a "speaker" or to fluster him.

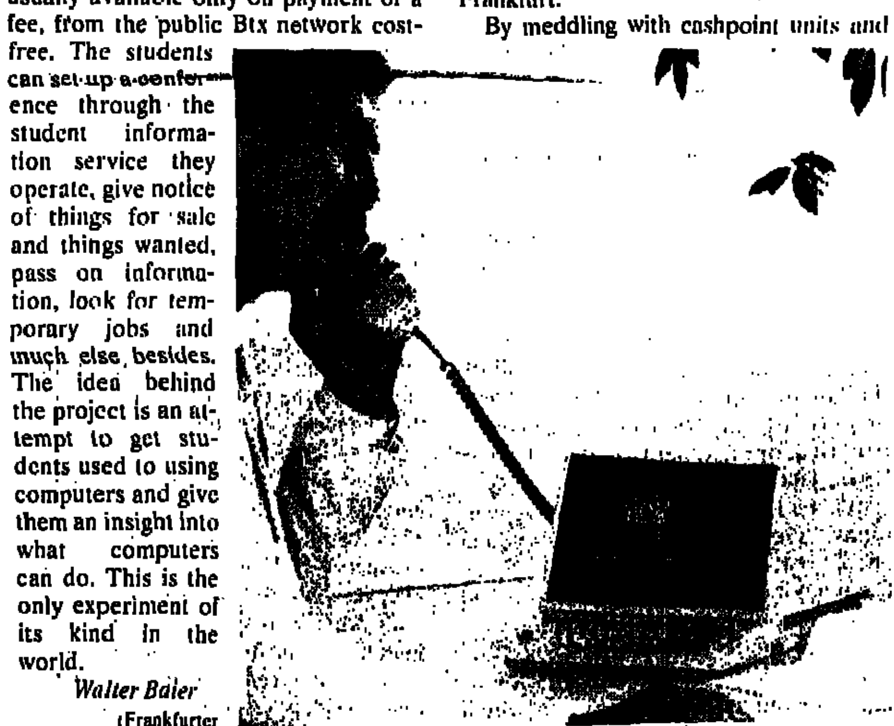
In order to gather experience about the new possibilities offered by Btx the Technical University has had installed an internal Btx system that includes all services.

The EDP 300-page information programme highlights the various aspects of this project; equipping the Technical University, study and advise information, technology transfer and the job market.

The system can be used nationwide. Study information brochures and publications from the technical transfer department of the University can be ordered from all over the country.

Facilities for ordering books internally from the University's library are in preparation. There are two public Btx units in the University compound. From these students can request information, usually available only on payment of a fee, from the public Btx network cost-free. The students can set up a conference through the student information service they operate, give notice of things for sale and things wanted, pass on information, look for temporary jobs and much else besides. The idea behind the project is an attempt to get students used to using computers and give them an insight into what computers can do. This is the only experiment of its kind in the world.

Walter Baier
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 November 1986)


Bildschirmtext in action . . . no need to get flustered. (Photo: Siemens)

Security of automatic cash machines questioned

Doubts are growing about the safety of automatic money dispensing systems run by banks.

The banks, while not denying that there have been cases of fraud, say that the systems are safe. But consumers organisations disagree.

The consumers' umbrella organisation, AgV, says increasing rates of fraud involving the cash machines and the magnetised cards they use reveals holes in the security system.

AgV spokesman Udo Dimper, himself holder of an Euro-cheque card with a magnetic strip (in Germany, the cheque card doubles as a cash card) says that cashpoint technology is not perfect and using it is "not entirely free of risk."

A spokesman for the banks operating automatic dispensers (Geldautomaten in German) strongly denies this. He says the risk is small "as it always has been."

Banks say it is impossible to find out a person's secret personal cashpoint number through electronic or mathematical tricks.

To get access to cash a person must: first, know the four-digit secret number given to the card holder; and, second, get the cheque card (that is, the cash card).

The credit institutions claim that there is no case on record of the system being tricked in this way.

Then how have accounts been looted? There have been instances in Cologne and Frankfurt.

By meddling with cashpoint units and the key-board computer freaks have been able to get hold of cheque cards and secret numbers. (A person guilty of this in Cologne has already been sentenced.) The rest was child's play.

The same thing happened in the Rhine-Main area except that here there was no need to steal or swindle to get hold of the account holder's cheque card.

In these cases people voluntarily handed over their cards to crooks (for remuneration) who with "electronic meddling" got at cash in other accounts.

Banks and credit institutions give assurances that there is no risk in the system. The risk is that an unauthorised person gets hold of the cheque card and the secret personal number at the same time, through theft or carelessness.

Nevertheless the banks and savings institutions do not deny that in certain instances the system has been tampered with.

One trick has since been thwarted by fitting out cashpoints with equipment that prevents thieves getting at cash with falsified cheque cards. But this equipment has not been fitted to all cashpoints.

The risk of electronically back-dating cheque cards remains, however. Normally a number combination on the magnetised strip on the cheque card prevents the use of the card to get cash from an account more than once a day.

But using electronics it is possible to "backdate" a card that has been used once, so that in one day the card can be used to get at money from a number of cashpoints.

It has been useful to crooks that the 3,000 cashpoints in the Federal Republic (about 2,000 of these are operated by savings banks) are not on-line with one another. This situation will prevail until the middle of next year when this loophole will be closed.

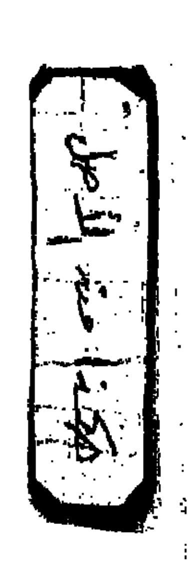
The banks and savings institutions say that a victim of deceit of this kind would be fully indemnified.

Banks and savings institutions have insurance giving cover up to DM10,000.

AgV maintains that this insurance is full of holes. It advises account holders who do not have insurance to exchange their cheque cards with a magnetised strip for one without it. It would then be impossible to get cash from an account.

This can be done easier and cheaper by changing the code in the magnetic strip – by the bank where the account is held.

Josef Rothe
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 16 December 1986)



■ SPACE RESEARCH

Aspiring astronauts run the gauntlet to weed out the mere humans

All would-be astronauts who have been put through their paces in the notorious revolving chair at the German Aerospace Research Establishment's Cologne aviation medicine institute have been as sick as dogs.

The aim of this modern instrument of torture is to probe space sickness susceptibility. Anyone who aspires to join the exclusive ranks of the astronaut squad for Germany's D-2 Spacelab mission has to undergo this and other tests in the DFVLR "torture chamber."

Since the end of October 421 male and female applicants have undergone exhaustive one-week medical tests at the Cologne research establishment's medical centre.

They are the ones shortlisted from the 1,787 initial applicants. They are one step nearer their dream of joining Germany's second Spacelab crew.

Applications were submitted by 1,438 men and 349 women — 80.5 and 19.5 per cent respectively.

They range in age from a 16-year-old Hamburg schoolgirl whose ambition has always been to become an astronaut to an 81-year-old ex-test pilot of pre-war vintage.

The Challenger catastrophe does not seem at all to have discouraged Germans from reaching for the stars. There were only about 700 applicants in 1977 to crew the D-1 Spacelab mission.

This extra interest makes screening

KielerNachrichten

and selection none the easier for the DFVLR and the Bonn Research Ministry, which is in overall charge of the mission.

The choice must be a difficult one in any case, but how much more so when nearly 2,000 applicants have to be reduced to a mere four!

Early dropouts will have included a card-playing trio who answered the advertisement placed by a firm of Cologne headhunters.

They specially asked for the other members of the crew preferably not to be either women or non-smokers. In particular, could they please be proficient at *Skat*, the German card game?

Another group of eight applicants claiming to be gifted at theory and brilliant in practice tentatively enquired whether drinking was allowed in space and if there was an alcohol limit.

They too will soon have been crossed off the list. So, one imagines, will the water diviner who said his divining rod had reacted so strongly to the newspaper advert that he felt he simply must apply for the job!

The first screening will only have been survived by physics, biology or chemistry, medicine or engineering graduates, preferably with a PhD, several years' research and perfect English.

Seventy-five teachers and 94 non-graduates may have failed to be shortlisted on other grounds, such as being over 35 and shorter than 1.53m (5ft) or taller than 1.90m (6ft 3in).

The health bill and nerves of the remainder will be tested in Cologne until next spring, tests being based on Lufthansa trials for trainee pilots.

Successful applicants must be able to handle a heavy workload despite pressure of time. Tests included simulated radio contact between Spacelab and the control centre.

Ingenious tests are designed to weed out candidates who are put off by the cramped quarters in the test lab and on board the space shuttle.

Social compatibility is also tested to make sure that candidates will get along with each other in armpit-to-armpit contact for days on end.

They will finally face an entire battery of tests to determine whether they are a match for potentially dangerous situations.

In testing psychological aptitude the DFVLR is bearing in mind that it will one day have to man space stations for longer periods. The Americans expect this possibility to arise from 1994.

They plan 90-day stints in outer space. The European Columbus project is planned to play a major role in this development.

This prospect has an effect on medical tests, which applicants only undergo once they have passed psychological tests.

Stricter yardsticks will apply in some respects than in the selection procedures for D-1 mission astronauts. Successful applicants must not, for instance, tend to have kidney or gall stones.

In a state of zero gravity less is drunk, sending less fluid through the kidneys and making stones likelier.

Routine checks include electroencephalograms, electrocardiograms, X-rays and blood tests. Stable circulation is important, stability in every conceivable respect.

No-one can say for sure a female astronaut will be selected, but one probably will.

Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber has not issued specific instructions but is known to favour the idea of a woman among the final four on optical grounds alone.

Past experience and pilots' tests in civil aviation show, however, that women have greater difficulty with psychological tests. Their sense of spatial orientation is poorer than men's, for instance.

Trials are to be completed by spring. A commission will then arrive at a decision on the basis of data compiled.

It will consist Research Ministry officials, other experts and scientists responsible for experiments the astronauts are due to carry out on board Spacelab.

Herr Riesenhuber plans to present the chosen four to the public by mid-1987. They will then undergo basic and

Continued on page 11

■ LITERATURE

50 years since Thomas Mann got the boot

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Bonn University took away Thomas Mann's honorary doctorate 50 years ago when he was in exile in Switzerland.

It was a consequence of the Hitler regime taking away his German citizenship three weeks before.

Mann refers to the episode in his diary in an entry on 25 December 1936 and observed: "I almost forgot." He said he was considering replying to the university.

This ended the long-standing relationship between the German novelist and man of letters and the University of Bonn.

On 2 August 1919, the university celebrated its 100th anniversary — a year late because of the First World War.

To mark the occasion, the five faculties awarded honorary doctorates. The philosophy faculty awarded 11. One was to Mann, the only one to a person in the arts.

The citation said Mann was a "most gifted writer who, with self-discipline and animated by a strong sense of responsibility, has portrayed our times in



Thomas Mann . . . "I wasn't born to be a martyr". (Photo: Archives)

the artistry of his work with deeply-felt experience."

There was little to suggest the award had been made on literary grounds. The decision was a political one.

This is clear from the fact that it was not just Mann the author who was being honoured but also Mann the writer of the patriotic apologia, *Reflections of a non-political man* in October 1918.

This showed Mann's conservative, anti-democratic views and found a considerable echo in Bonn's academic world, which included many opponents of the Weimar Republic.

Seventeen years later, when his writings and lectures showed that he had long changed his democratic-republican views, Mann's relationship with the state had fundamentally changed as well as the relations between Mann and the university that had once honoured him.

The Christmas Day news that was

Continued on page 11

Hildesheimer, the moralist who illuminated the darker side

In his homage to Max Frisch, *Mitteilung an Max über den Stand der Dinge und anderes*, published in 1984, Wolfgang Hildesheimer wrote: "I would rather have been something else."

He wanted to be a graphic artist and a painter, which is how he started his artistic career. His life-long distaste for writing, and he was a master of melancholy, seemed to have got the better of him.

He is now 70 and from his home in Poschiavo in the Swiss canton of Grisons, where he has lived since 1957, he can look back on an impressive achievement as a writer.

Beneath his jester's exterior, he has been a moralist, who has written plays for radio and the theatre, short stories and novels that illuminated the darker side of life.

His style was adorned with humour, satirical exaggeration and philosophical meaning. His heros are introspective, full of self-doubt and a loathing of life.

They move as if in a labyrinth, things appear to them as curiosities and reality is unidentifiable.

His fictional biography *Marbot* (1981) tells the story of Schopenauer's friend who, contrary to his philosophy teacher, ended his life in suicide.

In his novel *Masante* published in 1973 Hildesheimer presented the paradox of life as he saw it: Who lives dies in living.

This paradox was particularly true of his *Mozart*, published in 1977, a rough outline of the unfortunate composer's life that surprised Mozart experts and went on to be a best-seller.

Hildesheimer was born in Hamburg. His Jewish father was an industrial chemist.

He went to the Oldenwald School, a private establishment that pioneered new educational ideas, but he had to emigrate in 1933. From Britain he went to Palestine where he learned to be a carpenter. In 1937 he returned to Britain and attended art school.

He worked as a stage designer, English teacher and as an interpreter at the Nuremberg war crimes trials.From 1949 he lived and worked beside the Starnberg Lake as a graphic artist and painter. He suddenly began to write there.

His first book, *Lieblose Legenden*, introduced a new voice into German post-war literature. It did not follow the no-future movement that appeared after 1945 nor the political awareness of the early 1950s.

The satirical fables in this "uniquely weird book," as Walter Jens described it, centred on the absurdities of life.

Tragi-comic plays for the radio and theatre quickly made Hildesheimer well

Wolfgang Hildesheimer . . . would rather have been something else. (Photo: Brigitte Friedrich)

known and the public enjoyed the "fierce logic" of his tales.

The opening words of *Vergebliche Aufzeichnungen*, published in 1962, "Nothing strikes me," are the key to the whole body of his work. In the long story *Tynset*, published in 1965 his detachment from the world cannot be excelled.

In many ways Hildesheimer followed James Joyce, particularly in his use of language, but critics did not go along with his experiments in form.

His play *Maria Stuart* (1971) failed. Powerlessness is difficult to portray on a stage.

His memoirs *Zeiten in Cornwall*, with his own drawings, demonstrate his talent for hanging things in the balance.

When he was awarded the Büchner Prize in 1966 he was spoken of as a writer who developed style, but he became a popular writer at the end of the 1970s with his *Mozart*.

But his anxiety about writing before he began to write increased. After the success of *Marbot* he concentrated on commentaries.

Das Ende der Fiktionen is the pertinent title of a collection of his lectures given over 25 years.

But his final word was his puns and jokes directed to Max Frisch. The *Mitteilung an Max* ends with the statement: "Everything will fade, dear Max, seeing and hearing, but first of all laughter."

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Mannheimer Morgen, 9 December 1986)

Death ends an author's search for life

Novelist Ingeborg Drewitz has died in Berlin at the age of 63.

In her novel *Oktoberlicht*, published in 1969, she told the story of a day in the life of a woman in her mid-forties, divorced, with two daughters. In the course of the day her whole life passes before her with all its efforts and challenges.

The woman has just left hospital after an unpleasant operation that, it is feared, could have consequences. She is seeking for contact with everyone who is close to her. She looks back on her past. She is is looking for a clarity that life denies people.

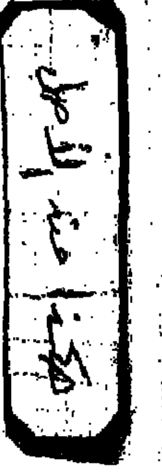
She has the helpless feeling that life has slipped past her. She poses the question, that Ingeborg Drewitz posed in real life: "Do you know, I still want to believe that our lives have an aim."

But the question is no longer relevant for Ingeborg Drewitz is dead. Nevertheless everyone who knew her is aware that up to the very end she tried to give meaning to her life. The meaning she found could be defined as self-determination, independence, striving to govern her own destiny.

She was born in Berlin in 1923. She grew up in the nazi period and survived the war under conditions that made her realise early on that she would always have to struggle for her aim.

This was made all the more difficult for her as her daily battle for self-determination, her desire to command her own fate, showed her that the battle raised a contradictory requirement: to help other people and not just one's neighbour.

Ingeborg Drewitz successfully met this dual challenge, better than any other writer, and not only the writers of her own generation. It characterised her work.



From the outset writing meant for Ingeborg Drewitz the search for this dual challenge, a questioning assessment of life and an expression of one's experiences, almost autobiographical in fact.

Her most important book, the novel *Gestern war heute — hundert Jahre Gegenwart*, was the biography of a woman. It told her story against the contemporary background of her personal involvement.

The novel *Wer verteidigt Katrin Lambert* tells of a woman who, as a welfare worker, privately and professionally suppresses her own personality and attractions in her preparedness to trust people that in fact made people trustworthy again.

In her later novel, written in diary form, *Eis auf der Elbe*, she untiringly reflects on the insoluable tensions between the much-longed-for consciousness of oneself and the involvement with others who need help.It is not surprising that Ingeborg Drewitz wrote a biography of letter-writer and essayist Bettina von Arnim and that lectures and essays played an important role in work.

She not only wrote about self-determination and helping others in books and essays but she was prepared to help others and show them the way to self-determination.

She was a founder and for a long time deputy chairwoman of the national writers association and vice-president of West Germany's P.E.N. club.

She founded the Berlin-based *Neue Gesellschaft für Literatur*, among others. There is no doubt that she served writers well in this country.

She never withdrew from political challenges, but always persisted in expresssing her views in disputes, tirelessly defending democratic principles and pressing for emancipation so that it was possible for people to live together better.

She did a lot for fringe groups and prisoners.

She led an involved life, indeed. She had a mind of her own as a writer. She was honest, clever and consistent. Her work as a writer was evidence of her involvement with people.

Ingeborg Drewitz is dead. The German literary world is the poorer for her passing.

Heinrich Vormweg

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27 November 1986)



Ingeborg Drewitz . . . never pulled out of a challenge. (Photo: Sven Simon)

■ HERITAGE

Big objections to history museum plans

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The German government set up a 16-man commission to produce a feasibility study on the plan to establish an historical museum in Berlin last October.

The commission was chaired by Professor Werner Kropp, president of the Prussian art treasures foundation.

Many politicians and academics in the Federal Republic are worried about government plans for the Berlin museum.

They are uneasy, mistrustful and anxious of the "conservative powers" that plan to implant a one-dimensional reading of history, acceptable to themselves.

More to the point, the critics are not so much worried about the concept for the museum as about those who are initiating it. It is not an academic, but a political criticism.

The critics claim that "revisionists" have given their services to a conservative project.

SPD Bundestag member Freimut Duve explained: "One should distrust governments that take on historians as advisers."

The museum concept saw the light of day in April. It will cover the whole of German history "from the beginning to the present day." It will show people, as Professor Michael Stürmer of the commission said, "why we are linked up with German history."

According to Berlin political scientist Richard Löwenthal the museum should take into account the need to give young people a total presentation of our history.

The commission charged with producing the feasibility study has now invited experts to a two-day hearing in Bonn, inviting them to present their criticisms and suggestions for the scheme.

During the two-day conference there was only one point on which unanimity was expressed: "The museum will be built." But many objections were made of the principles behind the project.

The museum is regarded as an answer to the East Berlin Museum in Unter den Linden, with a complete reversal of the premises on which that museum was established. The basic idea itself stems from "an abstract political intention."

Gisela Völger of the Rautenstrauch Joest Museum in Cologne made this point which was untypically polemic in what was an academic conference.

The projected museum was too arid, devoid of a human content and abstract for Gisela Völger. It lacked flair and life. In short the theoreticians should think again.

Others took the view that a museum such as that envisaged belonged to the 19th century. There was talk of a cost of billions and that the whole project was an example of megalomania.

To this was added that Berlin had come down in the world and was now only "a fossil of German history."

Historian Christian Meier from Munich doubted that the 12 years of the Third Reich, that represented the end of continuity in German history, could be presented without further ceremony among the many eras of German history just like that. Would not the chronological inclusion of the unique national socialism catastrophe have a levelling off effect? he asked.

He was prompted to ask this question in view of the contents and the methods of presentation proposed for the museum.

No complaints were heard in Bonn about indoctrination. The concept tried to keep all forms of dogma at a distance. It will concentrate "on various views of history."

Christian Meier said that the museum should not try to impart a message, something along the lines of a Kantian "self-imposed categorical imperative."

Professor Hagen Schulze from Berlin stressed that a view of history was the result of complex social processes and influences. He said that museums were not there to interpret history.

There was considerable controversy about the question of adopting a pluralistic approach, and Meier expressed the general doubt that pluralism could be presented in a museum.

For Hagen Schulze a museum was no place for controversy over written and spoken records. He said: "Objects cannot argue."

Werner Knopp saw possible weaknesses in this strength. He feared that a pluralistic approach would lead to a loss of image and clarity, and an arbitrary approach.

'A dinosaur'

People involved in museums came up with objections and suggestions that were worth listening to.

Gisela Vögler regarded the whole scheme as impossible. She said the result would be a "documents and replica museum, a giant dinosaur."

Claus Grimm from the Bavarian historical museum in Munich said that vital items for display were not available. The period before 1850 could not be represented, only by reproductions and media reports.

These comments went to the heart of the problem of establishing such a museum, before it had acquired a basic collection of items for display.

The German History Museum stands or falls on its ability to get together an extensive collection of exhibits relevant to German history.

This is the way it is put in the concept. That is the important point, although the authors of the concept concede that this gap exists.

The museum should bear in mind a man such as Christoph Stölzl of the City Museum in Munich.

With a modest budget and in just two months he has acquired 80 objects. He has produced, for example, two Franconian clasps from the 6th century as well as a fragment of an ecclesiastical collection from the 10th century.

He has shown how contemporary history is visible in private life.

Stölzl believes art is of considerable importance. He said: "History needs art." Objects of aesthetical value throw light on the political past. Portraiture, for instance, displays changes in people.

This costs money, a lot of money according to Stölzl. This year he has DM250,000 for acquisitions, next year one million.

Experts talk of a budget of DM10 million a year. The politicians have the

Continued on page 14

Thomas Mann's doctorate

Continued from page 10

passed on to him by Gottfried Bermann-Fischer of S. Fischer Verlag Vienna office, was just two sentences long.

Dean Karl Justus Obenauer wrote on 19 December: "With the agreement of the rector of the University of Bonn I have to inform you that the philosophy faculty has found it necessary to strike your name from the list of honorary doctors as a result of your loss of citizenship." He was barred from using the title.

From 1934 there had been an additional clause included in the rules governing honorary doctorates, added at the behest of the government, that made it possible to withdraw the doctorate "if the holder of the title showed himself unworthy of a German academic honour."

This vague formulation was used in December 1936 against people who had been deprived of citizenship.

Sources available give no indication of who was behind the Thomas Mann case that was dealt with so speedily. It is not certain how far Dean Obenauer of the philosophy faculty was involved and if he acted on his own initiative. He was a Germanist and a member of the SS.

The university was run along authoritarian lines and it is uncertain how much influence Karl Schmidt, rector of the university, wielded in the Mann case.

There is only limited information available about the contact the university had with the government in Berlin on this matter.

What is certain is that Dean Obenauer dealt with it without consulting the philosophy faculty. The university had for some time been coordinated so that the faculty no longer had any say in decisions.

Perhaps a number of faculty members had knowledge of the proceedings, but no-one was prepared to take the risk to speak out against what was happening. No voice was raised against the action except for one doubter.

Thomas Mann's reply to the letter from Bonn was become known the world over. In 1937 the Zürich publisher Oprecht made it public together with the dean's letter in a brochure that was entitled *Briefwechsel*. In a very short space of time 20,000 copies had been published.

The brochure was distributed all over the world, in the German original and in translation.

In Germany itself copies and undercover editions were circulated, one entitled "Briefe deutscher Klassiker — Wege zum Wissen."

With this letter Thomas Mann broke his silence about German affairs, a silence that had lasted since 1933. Considerable international attention was then given to German emigration — artists and scientists who went into exile rather than remain in Hitler's Germany.

At the same time Bonn and its unversity gained a worldwide, shameful notoriety.

Mann regarded relieving him of his honorary doctorate as a "good opportunity" to draw attention to the fact that he had recently been stripped of his German citizenship. It also gave a chance to emphasise his status as an emigrant.

In his reply to Dean Obenauer he wrote that he was "born to be rather a representative than a martyr." He said that he would rather bring sublime pleasure into the world than fight to feed hate.

His comment on this "absurd and lamentable act" of his "national excommunication" has often been quoted.

He said that it was pitiable to think about the people who considered they had the power to take his German culture and way of life away from him. He regarded this as risible, and said that it was incredible that it should be regarded that he had insulted Germany when he had spoken out against "them."

"They have the unbelievable audacity to confuse Germany with themselves." He believed that the moment was perhaps not far distant when the German people would not have themselves confused with them, meaning the nazis.

The anger which he expressed about his loss of citizenship and the Bonn University decision, was obviously greater than that expressed laconically in his diary.

Thomas Mann came out against those who were politically responsible, who shared in the responsibility for what was happening in Germany and who tried to twist his remarks, remarks that came from the same way of thinking that later made him, perhaps under compulsion, into a republican democrat and an anti-fascist.

Decades later Bonn University, that gave Mann back his honorary doctorate in 1946, is once more re-kindling the Thomas Mann case. The dispute reflects back on the university'a immediate past.

Andreas Schatzke

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 December 1986)

Continued from page 9

background training for their duties in outer space.

Work will be simulated and Germany's shortlisted astronauts will be on standby from October 1990 after further mission training by Nasa, the US National Aeronautics and Space Agency.

No-one knows just when D-Day will be. So D-1 astronaut Ernst Messerschmid, now a university professor, counsels patience.

His fellow-astronauts Ulf Merbold from Germany and Wubbo Ockels from Holland had to wait six years for their maiden mission.

D-2 was to have been launched in 1988, but the Challenger disaster scrubbed out this timetable.

Space shuttle flights are not now to be resumed until February 1988, so major scientific missions can expect between two and five years' delay, according to Nasa's James C. Fletcher in a satellite-relayed TV press conference.

Before D-2 is launched the Americans plan to put two very important communication satellites into orbit, plus — in about November 1988 — the partly German-designed Hubble space telescope, from which revolutionary findings in physics and astronomy are expected.

So Nasa expects D-2 to be launched in the second quarter of 1991, and even then it is doubtful whether all four German astronauts will be on board.

Nasa still insists on one more American being on board than astronauts of other nationalities. So German astronauts face a long wait.

A 14-year-old secondary schoolboy who applied to become an astronaut may in this context have been less wide of the mark than he realised.

Dieter Putz

(Kieler Nachrichten, 13 December 1986)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Artificial reed bed brings town's sewage treatment out of the Middle Ages

Obersülzen, population 400, in the Rhineland-Palatinate, has made a great leap forward in sewage disposal from the Middle Ages to the latest in eco-technology.

In switching from open sewers and natural fertiliser to reed-bed filtration, Obersülzen has leapfrogged conventional mechanical, biological and chemical techniques.

It has done so partly because the alternatives were too expensive for a tiny village. Keen interest has been shown by other local authorities.

Engineers have devised increasingly complicated techniques of domestic and industrial sewage treatment and disposal. But basically there are three approaches.

Mechanical techniques include filters and sewage farms. Septic or sludge digestion tanks are biological in approach. Chemical purification is self-explanatory.

The aim in all cases is to prevent untreated sewage from polluting rivers and waterways and to ensure that seepage does not pollute ground water.

Even cities the size of Saarbrücken, population several hundred thousand, still lack efficient sewage treatment facilities, while the bacteria that digest sludge at the gigantic BASF sewage treatment plant near Frankenthal aren't entirely to be relied on.

When the mighty microbe "catches cold" the sewage specialists are caught on the hop. For all their know-how there is nothing they can do but look on until the system is back in working order.

But apart from breakdowns and their repercussions the use of modern technology has greatly improved the bill of health of Germany's largest natural sewage disposal system, the Rhine, over the past decade.

This is a point on which Joschka Fischer, the Green Environment Minister of Hesse, and Klaus Töpfer, the Christian Democratic Environment Minister of the neighbouring Rhineland-Palatinate, are agreed regardless of any other differences, party-political or regional, they may have.

Obersülzen has disposed of its sewage without recourse to technology of any kind in the past. Sewage and drainage differed little from what they had been in the Middle Ages.

Domestic kitchen waste was swilled along open drains, leaving a telltale track of what families had eaten for lunch.

The contents of household cesspits were spread — one way or another — as fertiliser.

Connecting the village to the sewage system of the nearest village, two miles away, would have cost a small fortune. But Obersülzen was ready for change, and the great leap forward has now been taken.

Technology — adapted technology: eco-technology rather than conventional bio-techniques — has been tailored to suit the needs of a small community.

Obersülzen has opted for a pilot project devised by a Kassel university lecturer for the Rhineland-Palatinate. Its sewage is to be treated biologically, not in septic tanks but in artificial reed-beds: 3,600 square metres (one acre) of reeds, sedge and bulrushes.



The sewage pours downhill over the acre of reeds, planted in two feet of soil with a natural clay puddle lining.

Its contents are biodegraded, compounded, denitrified and released into the atmosphere or absorbed by the roots of the plants.

Harmful substances are digested by microflora in the plants' roots and degraded by chemical and physical means.

The reed-bed sewage treatment system for Obersülzen's 400 people is costing over DM5m, including the sewage mains and technical equipment.

The facility just inaugurated incorporates two cesspools, one of which will be used to purify sewage in the conventional manner until the reed-beds are fully operational, which will not be for three years.

The pool will be aerated to keep bacteria alive that purify the contents. Pumps are also needed to feed the effluent to the reed-beds, which double as a useful nature reserve in an area where few unspoilt wetlands are left.

The new technique, bulrushes and all, sounds more like a throwback from the Middle Ages to the Old Testament — remember Moses? — than the last word in ecology.

But the lining of the reed-beds ensures that effluent cannot simply seep into the ground water, as it still does from sewage farms in Berlin, for instance.

It is claimed to be more effective than conventional methods, but it doesn't seem to be less expensive.

It requires the same amount of surface area as unaerated pools and costs no less to construct than cesspools or conventional sewage farms.

Initial outlay could be higher if the soil requires extra insulation. Running costs could be higher if feeder drains need frequent cleaning and regular gardening care is required.

Critics have also warned that long-term consequences are unknown and that design features show signs of not having been thought out to the last detail.

Even the arrangement in which reeds are to be planted is said not to be in keeping with generally acknowledged rules.

Yet the Kassel University teacher whose brainchild the system is has keenly interested the Rhineland-Palatinate and triggered local authority interest in other parts of Germany too.

Twenty-one local authorities representing 20,000 consumers have made inquiries to their water boards. Obersülzen is the first to have inaugurated a root-bed sewage treatment facility, work having begun in mid-October last year.

The go-ahead has been given to Talling, a village on the Moselle, also in the Rhineland-Palatinate.

Rhineland-Palatinate Environment Minister Professor Töpfer arrived for the Obersülzen opening ceremony by coach and horses.

Mayor Stauffer-Starz said local people keenly supported the project. Local clubs and associations donated an oak tree to mark the occasion.

Mayor Beyer of the next-largest local authority said the technique was still controversial but pilot projects enjoyed financial backing. The implication was that the Rhineland-Palatinate shared responsibility for the scheme.

Professor Töpfer, sampling the buffet laid on by the local women's institute, said from experience that bright children had no lack of parents whereas dull or difficult children frequently found themselves orphaned.

It is now up to micro-organisms to sink their microbial teeth into the sewage. Professor Töpfer's reputation may well take a tumble if they fail to have healthy appetites.

Eckhart Kauntz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 December 1986)

Technique claimed to recycle chemicals from sludge

Sewage sludge, 50 million cubic metres or 2.2 million tonnes of dry matter a year with a high count of heavy metal, is a growing problem in an increasingly pollution-conscious country.

Hamburg University research chemists have devised an interesting new disposal technique, pyrolysis, to recycle valuable chemicals, including oil.

Sludge disposal is increasingly problematic. Limits have been set to agricultural use by April 1983 regulations. Sludge can't be used as fertiliser even though much farmland has soil less fertile for being low in heavy metals.

In coastal areas sludge has long been dumped in the North Sea or the Baltic, but that too is no longer felt to be advisable.

Incineration to reduce the sheer volume of the problem is too expensive and creates further problems because of sulphur dioxide and heavy metal static emission.

Hamburg University department of anorganic and applied chemistry has developed a technique by which, it claims, valuable chemicals such as light oil and bitumen oil, including aromatic hydrocarbons, can be recycled.

Sludge is dried, pelletised and heated in a turbulence chamber. Professor W. Kaminsky and his staff have used the same technique, pyrolysis, to recycle waste plastic.

A plastic pilot project is under construction in Munich, where it will handle between 6,000 and 7,000 tonnes of assorted household plastic and shredded synthetic carpet waste.

Sewage sludge after pyrolysis, either fresh or treated in a septic tank, is a mixture of organic substances consisting to a large extent of protein and fat.

A raw material similar to the sediment on which petroleum is based, sludge can be classified as a sediment including 75 to 80 per cent of organic matter.

Pyrolysis is comparable with the way petroleum takes shape in nature. Organic sediment is transformed into petroleum deposits by three factors: heat, pressure and time.

Each of these three factors can be intensified to accelerate the process, and intensified to such an extent that the other two pale in significance.

In Hamburg heat — temperatures of between 400° and 850° C — converts sludge into oil in seconds. No pressure is required.

The products are basically the same as in natural petroleum formation: gases such as carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, methane and others and a mixture of chain- or ring-shaped — aromatic — hydrocarbons with a high count of so far unidentified organic compounds.

Sludge pyrolysis produces at higher temperatures aromatic hydrocarbons such as benzole or toluol in increasing amounts.

This is particularly striking when sludge is fractionally distilled by being left to bubble at between 50° and 120° C.

Sludge that has undergone pyrolysis at 850° C is found to contain about six times as much aromatic oil as sludge heated to 400° C.

This oil distilled at a higher temperature also includes higher quantities of hydrocarbons containing alien atoms such as nitrogen.

Pyrolysis at controlled temperatures enables the recycling process to be geared to produce a maximum quantity of light oil and bitumen oil (boiling at roughly 600° C, or so it seems).

Light oil is a particularly valuable raw material from which to recycle its high proportion of expensive, high-grade aromatic hydrocarbons.

The same is true of recycled synthetic waste at the Munich pilot plant, the oil count of which is used by the chemical industry as a substitute for increasingly scarce coking bitumen.

Pyrolysis at high temperatures requires a high energy input to crack the organic molecules.

But the gas that is a by-product of pyrolysis, increasing in quantity the higher the temperature, can be used as a source of energy.

The waste that remains after pyrolysis can probably be incinerated too despite its high mineral count.

Laboratory trials have yet to show how economic large-scale production might be, but pyrolysis can be sure to prove economic once sludge disposal presents serious environmental problems.

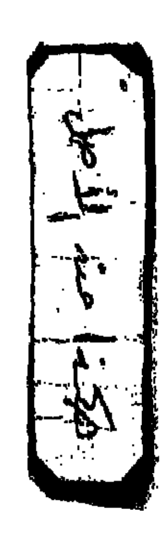
The pollution hazard cannot be quantified. Disposal will be essential and any process that yields useful by-products will be welcomed.

Converting sewage sludge into light oil, bitumen oil, coke and gas is a textbook example of recycling environmentally hazardous waste.

The Hamburg technique could refine about half a million tonnes of oil a year from the Federal Republic of Germany's annual output of sewage sludge. Dumping the waste left after pyrolysis would take up only one tenth of the space needed to store the original sludge.

Harald Steinert

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 December 1986)



■ RESEARCH

The humble human snout inspires gas boffins

Semiconductor gas sensors are the salient features of an "electronic nose" designed and built at Munich University of Technology.

Staff at the department of electronic engineering have spent two years developing the device.

It is part of a sensory research project at several departments of the Munich university and the Bundeswehr University in nearby Neubiberg.

Scientists have tried for some time to simulate the amazing performance of the human senses by means of computer-aided sensors.

Progress in automatic recognition of speech and image patterns made project staff decide to experiment with gas sensors in a bid to simulate the sense of smell in addition to those of speech and vision.

The aim was to devise inexpensive gas analysis equipment as a substitute for complex, costly gas chromatography.

The difficulty has so far been the inaccuracy of sensor-registered olfactory data. As project director Eckhard Lange puts it:

"Semiconductor gas sensors currently available are not selective enough for many uses. They don't only react to the substance to be identified. Research has failed so far to develop sufficiently selective gas sensors."

Munich electronics research scientists decided to simulate the workings of the human nose in a bid to achieve this result by a new approach.

The nose relays a wide range of olfactory signals to the brain, where distinctions are drawn by association and signals pigeonholed on the basis of experience.

The Munich research team copied

Süddeutsche Zeitung

this natural technique, building a device the size of a suitcase connected to a small computer and a monitor screen.

The computer controls measurements and readings, while findings are illustrated on the monitor screen using computer graphics.

The smell is "nosed out" in a glass cylinder containing four commercially available semiconductor gas sensors. Test substances are distributed evenly round the test chamber by a small fan.

Combustible gases extract oxygen from the semiconductors' metal oxide stratum, specifically changing their conductivity.

These changes, differing from one sensor to the next, are electrically measured and relayed to the computer in signal form.

The next step the "electronic nose" had to be taught was to distinguish between gas signals by characteristic and concentration using computer-aided pattern recognition techniques.

Readings are compared with signal patterns "on file," allowing inferences to be drawn as to the nature of the olfactory scenario.

Design recognition scenario analysis has made gigantic strides in recent years and been put to industrial use in various sectors of process engineering.

Known gas samples are pumped into the test chamber for pattern analysis. The electrical data of the various gases are stored using a system of coordinates, computerised and graphically linked.

In this way a different graphic pattern is drawn up for every gas.

"All we need to gauge the device," Lange says, "is the readings taken by the four sensors. We also tell the computer which gas it is and in which concentration."

The gas identified in this manner is filed and used for reference in later measurements.

Different concentrations, measured in parts per million, are recorded and filed to enable the "electronic nose" to arrive at more accurate results.

Only a few parts per million are needed to produce computer graphics on the monitor screen.

Project scientists have so far "taught" the "nose" to identify 10 substances in this way. They include methane, butane, ethane, hydrogen and carbon monoxide, plus compounds such as whisky and liqueur.

They don't yet know how many patterns the computer will be able to distinguish between. Lange feels it should be able to recognise about 30 different patterns.

After each "lesson" the test chamber is cleansed using fresh air and allowing oxygen to return to the surface of the semiconductors, which are then restored to their original state.

Project staff are hoping a new silicium chip they have developed will improve the system. It combines four sensors.

They react solely to hydrogenous gases and incorporate a zoolith, or mineral filter, with lattice pores that only let certain groups of gas molecules through.

This zeolith and the palladium sensor surface are catalysts and separate hydrogen from other gas molecules.

The hydrogen is stored in the form of dipoles on the palladium. Electric impulses take the form of dipole field strengths measured and relayed to the computer.

The advantage of the chip sensor is that the entire device can be miniaturised. Besides, Lange says, the "electronic nose" can be made much more sensitive. "There are already 100 zeoliths that preselect substances in different ways."

Olfactory patterns have been committed to the computer's memory for whisky and liqueurs, but it has yet to learn how to distinguish between other compounds.

Project scientists are convinced, however, that the "nose" will learn how to do so and prove suitable for practical work in monitoring air in tunnels or in the chemical industry.

Industrial inquiries have so far been made by the mining industry and by a vinegar manufacturer.

A portable version of the "electronic nose" is now being developed. A palm-sized mini-monitor has also been devised and can be slotted into the chassis without difficulty.

Andreas Beuthner

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 8 December 1986)

■ MEDICINE

It only hurts when I larf — man on wrack

Pain affects people differently. Some can't stand the slightest ache while others can tolerate extreme pain.

Psychological research findings show that sensitivity to pain depends on a wide range of personality traits.

Women are often called the weaker sex and are thought by many to be less able to stand pain than men, but Munich University medical psychologists disagree.

Writing in the Berlin medical journal *Der Internist*, Monika Bullinger and her Munich associates say that the supposedly low pain threshold of women is an illusion.

This impression is given because women are taught not to hide their feelings like men.

Similarly, people from societies that frown on showing signs of pain are prepared to stand more of it than others from countries where less importance is attached to the stiff upper lip or whatever.

Americans of Italian extraction, for instance, feel pain to be intolerable that Irish Americans dismiss as merely annoying.

Age is another important factor. The older people are, the less sensitive to, or even perceptive of, pain they become.

This is partly because the body's pain sensors grow less sensitive with the years and partly because older people tend to make less of a fuss about their complaints.

Social standing also counts. The upper classes, especially the ladies, show greater sensitivity to pain than the lower.

Emotional states, character traits and states of mind influence pain thresholds perceptibly. In a state of high excitement or panic-stricken anxiety people tend to ignore pain as though they were anaesthetised.

Shocking time

Slight nervous tension tends in contrast to make people particularly sensitive to pain. That is why worriers have lower resistance than the bold and courageous.

The gregarious extrovert is more sensitive to pain than the inward-looking introvert, while depression and pain are no less clearly linked.

Patients under treatment for pain are frequently depressive and about 60 per cent of depressive patients complain of physical pain.

Chronic pain patients are said by psychologists to combine hypochondria, bouts of depression and a tendency to hysteria.

Conversely, neurotics with their emotional ups and downs and sense of uncertainty have particular difficulty in withstanding pain.

People particularly well able to withstand pain include those who assess new impressions independently of background information, relying on their own judgement.

The same goes for reducers. They, unlike augmenters, limit and suppress

Continued on page 14

■ HORIZONS

Stuntwoman takes it on the chin

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

When stuntwomen were needed in Germany, men used to dress up as women. That changed at the beginning of the 1970s when Evelyne Gutkind-Bienert came on the scene. She even doubles for slightly built men.

She is the daughter of an actress and artist who did gymnastics. She gained early experience as a child performer and spent several of her formative years in the land of the Great Outdoors, Australia.

The only stunt she draws the line at is going into water in a car. But otherwise, nothing.

Sometimes things do go wrong. There are problems with cars, because, she says, you have to rely on other people. On one occasion, she played a road accident victim, but the car drove faster than had been agreed.

It caught Frau Gutkind-Bienert and threw her in an arc on to the footpath. The result: loose teeth, cut chin and concussion. But, the important thing: "The scene was great, and naturally it stayed in."

She wanted to give it up at that stage, at least the stunts involving cars. But that was 13 years ago and she is still falling down stairs, clambering to great heights on buildings, and — in spite of experience — continuing to get hit by cars. The stunt lady, who won't say how old she is, lives with her mother and daughter in Berlin. She says she is the only all-round stuntwoman in the country.



When the irresistible force meets the immovable object . . . stuntwoman Evelyne in action (Photo: Private)

Her most important film was *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, in 1977 in which she doubled for Romy Schneider. Among other things she had to run between blazing houses in a war scene.

Five years later she gave Rainer Werner Fassbinder lessons on how to beat up people in *Kamikaze 1989*. She showed him how he shouldn't simply strike out wildly. It had to look dangerous but not hurt.

So why did she start in the business? "It's R A Stemmle's fault," she says. At the beginning of the 1970s, the director wanted a woman for an action role in a television series. She was hired.

Until that stage, although she had trained as an actress, she was not well known to the film-going public.

Her task in the television series was to get carried along on the bonnet of a swiftly accelerating car before being thrown clear.

It succeeded at the third attempt, the Press got hold of the story, and from then on she got constant offers. Her image suddenly changed from sexy to being tough.

How had her colleagues reacted when she began? "At first they didn't take me seriously. I was only accepted after I had worked with them for half a year." And then she started getting offers to play slightly built men, for whom the stuntmen were too heavily built.

She is ready to do anything except the car-in-water act, but says she isn't reckless.

"I'm not afraid, but I think a lot about what I do, and I'm very careful." She prepares intensively and goes through the projected act with a toothcomb first.

She says the qualities needed are pluck, aptitude and timing. When she was only three, she used to watch her mother, an actress and artiste, do gymnastics and then try and imitate her.

At the age of six, she had her own stage show. "I needed to be able to do something different from other people."

She appeared at variety clubs and at officers messes, put her head through her legs and, looking at the audience, and played on a small accordion.

Her mother looked after her and made sure she kept up with schoolwork. She went on tour through Europe, and that is how she picked up fluency in Italian, French and Spanish. She had already picked up English in Australia, where she went with her mother before her first birthday just after her father died.

She returned to the city of her birth, Berlin, 14 years later and a few years afterwards, met her husband.

But the marriage broke up just a year after her daughter, Katja, was born. "Since then, I have felt like a spinster."

How long will she work as a stuntwoman? "I haven't got it all worked out. I don't think about getting too old for the job. The only thing that makes me feel my age is my daughter. She's growing up."

And so in the meantime, everything goes on as usual: daily training with handstands, the splits and on the weights — ready for the next clash with a car.

Luten Leinhos

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 14 December 1986)

Continued from page 11

last word as to whether what is hoped for can be translated into reality.

Michael Stürmer has estimated that the building of the new museum would be as expensive as fitting it out and would take a generation to complete.

The government has estimated that for a museum of 23,000 square metres of floor space DM250 million would be required. The commision believes that 35,000 square metres of floor space would be needed.

The foundation stone for the new museum is scheduled to be laid next year, the 750th anniversary of the founding of Berlin, possibly opposite the Reichstag. Some doubt that this will happen.

Dietmar Kanthak

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 December 1986)

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stimuli over and above a certain level. The truth can hurt. This popular axiom is scientifically corroborated by the pain-resistance of people who prefer not to look facts in the face.

People who can be said to come in this category are capable of withstanding much greater pain than people who tend to be honest.

American research scientists are reported in an article in *Psychologie heute* to have made volunteers answer a "lie detector" questionnaire.

Questions asked included "do you sometimes talk about things you know nothing about?" and were designed to show how far they tended to delude themselves or to want to create a good impression even at the expense of the truth.

Volunteers were then given electric shock treatment: harmless shocks of varying intensity in the arm. They were asked to tell testers when the shock was perceptible, when it grew unpleasant, when it became painful and when it was unbearable.

Honest Johns and hypocrites both perceived pain at the same level but the latter withstood shocks twice as strong before admitting they were unpleasant, painful or unbearable.

Sensory perception is thus purely physiological and has nothing to do with the emotions, whereas emotional assessment of pain depends largely on personality.

Scientists say notorious self-deluders are so tough because their illusions, hypocrisy and tendency to look on the bright side have a narcotic effect.

They are accompanied by a higher level of endorphins, or opiates in the body, our painkiller and pleasure molecules.

For people who kid themselves a lot this is a mixed blessing. They may not own up to pain as readily as others who are readier to stick to the truth but they run a risk of disregarding physical warnings and going without, say, essential medical treatment.

There are also signs that their high endorphin level, enviable though it may seem, encourages tumour growth. Self-knowledge would thus seem to be the first step to recovery.

Further Munich tests showed how strongly intellectual processes can influence the perception of pain.

Volunteers submitted to pain with much greater equanimity when they had clear advance ideas on how serious it would be, when it would occur and what physical results it would have.

Rolf Degen

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 15 December 1986)

Female census workers want bodyguards

Plans for a census fell through three years ago after meeting with widespread protest. A court upheld an appeal against it and the idea was shelved. Now an amended census is to be carried out next May. In Germany, state employees are obliged to act as census enumerators if required. They are supported by volunteers who are paid small amounts.

Women census enumerators are worried about their safety when they go into action next May.

Suggestions from some quarters that they should be sent with protecting escorts have run into a tangled problem of who would pay.

The main fear is sexual assault. One enumerator said: "When we go into a house and the door shuts behind us, anything can happen."

Equal opportunities officials *in the Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia note widespread fear among both state-employed women who would be used as part of their duty and volunteer workers.

In Moers, in Lower Saxony, it has been suggested that escorts be used. Susanne Hein, head of the equal opportunities centre, calculates that 400 women enumerators would be needed in the town. That would mean an equal number of escorts.

The town council fears that this would add 500,000 marks to the already high cost of the census.

But Frau Hein says that the fear of sexual assault is real and the point has been raised so a solution can be worked out. Women could, for example, be sent out in pairs.

In Leverkusen, equal opportunities authority official Dagmar Schlapeit-Beck recognises the problem. She says that at first, voluntary workers would be used.

The authority estimates that about 500 state employees would be used. It is not clear how many would be women.

Frau Schlapeit-Beck, however, counters by saying it is absolutely irrelevant if women enumerators are state employees or volunteers. Women are women, she says.

In certain "socially explosive" parts of Dortmund women would be sent in pairs, according to a spokesman for municipal employees, Erwin Kleinschmidt. About 3,000 enumerators would be needed, including several hundred volunteers who would be paid small amounts.

But the issue is becoming entwined in a ducking-and-diving exercise over cost.

Urban and municipal authorities asked the federal government in Bonn if it would pay the extra cost. No, said Bonn. It's a matter for the *Länder*.

But the North Rhine-Westphalia government says it is nothing to do with it. The census is a Bonn matter. Secretary of State Ilse Ridder-Melchers, who is responsible for equal opportunities matters, was advised to pass the question of costs on to the Bonn Interior Ministry and the Chancellor's office.

Equal opportunities officials in the municipalities say money shouldn't come into it. Safety is safety. In any case, says Frau Schlapeit-Beck, it wouldn't be too expensive at all if state employees were used as escorts.

Andreas Rehnolt

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 12 December 1986)



■ SOCIETY

Muslim converts set out to find the path to Allah

Former world heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay, alias Muhammed Ali, and British pop singer Cat Stevens are well-known converts to Islam. Its strict doctrine has exercised a strong attraction on German intellectuals disappointed with Christianity. About two thousand West Germans have been converted to Islam. There are 1.7 million Muslims in West Germany, mainly Turks. Harald Biskup, of the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, describes how German Muslims live in a modern society.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

The muezzin has twice called out "Allahu akkbar" (Allah is great) through the stairwell of a building in Aachen.

Slowly the prayer room of the Bilal Mosque fills up with a dozen or so young men, most of them students from various Arab countries, who have hurried there between lectures to say their midday prayer.

They stand in rows before the prayer wall. They look towards Mecca — a niche in the wall indicates the direction.

When the small crowd have finished their devotions and left a young man remains in the prayer room. He stands up and makes his way through the group of Arabs who are chatting to one another.

Abdullah Frank Buberheim, as he is known since he was converted to Islam, is secretary of the Aachen Mosque.

Children call after him "Khomeini." He is a pensive man. He is often taken for a foreigner, he said smiling, which he accepts with composure. He took on an Oriental look when he went to the holy city of Medina in Saudi Arabia for a few months in 1974.

Abdullah Frank has been a Muslim for 13 years. Religion never played an important role in his home. He was baptised in the Protestant church, but his parents did not insist that he should be confirmed and at 19 he left the church.

He was interested in parapsychology and other supernatural phenomena. He was captivated by the Middle East from the time he read Karl May's book of Middle East adventures *Kara Ben Nemsi*.

He took up Middle East studies. But it was some time before he found his way to Islam.

In his search for faith Frank came in contact with the young people who were members of the Hare-Krishna cult in Munich.

Sometime along the line he recognised that he was unconsciously living almost like a Muslim, long before he formally accepted Islam.

The amusements of this world did not mean much to him. He found "inner direction" from studying the Koran with its prayers and its rules for fasting.

Axel Ayyub Köhler, 48, is a lecturer on environmental problems at the German Economics Institute in Cologne. He says that he was attracted to Islam when, in the 1960s, he took part in Friday prayers with Arab students in a room next to the Cologne University mensa. He joined them in saying their creed.

He said: "Without wanting to do so my parents showed me the way to Islam." He came from a religious Protestant family in Pommerania, "but we all had problems with the belief in the Trinity." This is rejected by Islam.

"Islam has liberated God from ancilliary ideas, given to him by Christianity, and that appealed to me. Primarily Islam and its order of priorities fascinated me intellectually. But I was not just interested in Islam from a cultural viewpoint. I wanted to be a practicing Mohammedan," he said.

Many of Köhler's fellow believers have gone along diverse paths to arrive at faith, some have meditated under Indian masters or sought fulfilment in therapy centres, before they found the "true way."

Fatima Grimm, 52, now living in Hamburg, is a good example. Her father was Himmler's adjutant, Adolf Wolff. She was baptised in the Protestant religion and then after 1933 went along with the pseudo religion of national socialism.

After the war she joined the Jehovah's Witnesses and went from door to door seeking to convert people.

At 21 she entered the Catholic Church to please her fiancé, but the engagement broke up.

Eventually she got to know a Czech who was a Muslim. Shortly after her marriage to him she was converted to the Mohammedan faith. She was 26.

She said: "I did not have the feeling that I had given anything up, but that I had gained something."

Her husband suddenly decided to move to Pakistan because, he said, only in Islamic surroundings could they remain true to the faith. She was delighted and went along with him.

But Allah's ways are impenetrable. She went deeper and deeper into the new religion and the customs of the country. She felt so confident that she wore the veil. But her husband was drawn back to Western civilisation and longed for "life's little pick-me-up," meaning alcohol, that is strictly prohibited in Islam.

Two years later they returned to Bavaria, and Fatima Grimm re-married, a German Mohammedan.



German Muslims at home . . . punctilious and devout. (Photo: Alfred Koch)

Most of the ever-increasing number of Germans who accept Islam are married to a foreigner of the same faith.

Asiye Köhler is Turkish. She graduated in German studies and now teaches Turkish children in Cologne.

Her daughter Bilgehan and son Oguzhan will both take the university entrance examination early next year. They are her children by her first marriage.

Köhler, who studied geo-physics, wears a suit and waist-coat in the Western style in his Cologne office. At home he slips into a more comfortable caftan.

Step-daughter Bilgehan, 19, poured tea and then settled down cross-legged at the table. "Do you know," Köhler said, "we German Mohammedans are something exotic."

Generally he was reserved but for a moment he became excited and his voice became louder. "You can be what you like here, punker, a fellow of Bhagwan, a communist or what you will, but when it comes to Islam the Germans don't want to know."

Does this mean they have a crusader mentality? He has not often encountered open hostility, but frequently concealed aversion and particularly a lack of understanding.

"People only see the prohibitions of Islam and think back to the Middle Ages," he said, adding that the limitations Islam applied to him "could be counted on two hands." The fact that he does not eat pork or drink alcohol has done the rounds. At chats over a meal in the canteen his colleagues are only interested in the darker sides of Köhler's religion. He neither disputes them nor trivialises them.

"There are excesses in some Islamic countries that are repulsive, but most of them have nothing to do with Islam." He has grown accustomed to being held responsible for everything, "whether it's the oil price or Koran schools, whether its flourishing corruption or a thief who has had his hand cut off."

Fatima Grimm is asked quite different questions, such as how could she, of all people, enter a religion, ruled by ayatollahs and mullahs, that is so anti-women?

"I have never felt myself to be under pressure," she said. She voluntarily obeys her husband. She said that she was well aware that in Christian marriages there were other forms of dominance, even tyrany.

She concedes that there is a world of difference in being a wife according to the Koran here than somewhere in Iran.

Fatima Grimm does not wear the *veil in Hamburg, but she does wear the head scarf and the sleeves of her blouse or jersey reach to her wrists.*

"Darling, are we fundamentalists?" she asks her husband, a seaman who has resident status in this country. He was converted to Islam "somewhere in Africa" 30 years ago.

He nodded and she spontaneously continued: "We prefer to be all-rounders, not crotchety and with blinkers."

Unlike Mosque secretary Bubenheim, who is concerned with the pure cultural elements of Islam, "without the errors committed in some Arab states," the Grimms look for a German way to follow the faith.

"We do not want to pretend we are in the Middle East, but live here without the quirks, that do not suit us, but without surrendering anything."

The Grimm's home is not luxurious nor spartan. The day's routine is punctuated five times with prayers.

There is no doubt that German adherents of Islam are more punctilious in their religious observance than foreigners here who are Mohammedans.

Abdullah Frank Bubenheim said: "There is a great difference whether one is born into the religion or accepted it from belief." He stroked his beard and looked at his digital watch. Soon the muezzin would call the faithful to mid-day prayers.

Harald Biskup

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 9 December 1986)

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age of 20 in 1947. Teachers were in short supply. For a year he taught every subject in a village school, serving as his own headmaster. He took his education diploma later.

He went on to study in America, taking his PhD in Heidelberg. Joining the foreign service, he worked at the embassies in Moscow and Washington before returning to Bonn and the disarmament department in 1966.

He stayed at the Foreign Office, apart from a spell at the Chancellor's Office and the Nato Defence College in Rome, and was appointed commissioner for disarmament and arms control in 1977.

Yet he remained, in his heart of hearts, a teacher. He delivered lectures, especially during the Nato missile deployment dispute, putting to good use his wife's experience teaching senior students at a Bad Godesberg high school.

Being willing and able to talk is in his view a sine qua non of peace at home and abroad, the cause that has been his life's work.

He has made the disarmament commissioner's work a means by which the government can perform security policy tasks. He was first to serve as commissioner and he has made the job what it is.

Bonn policy objectives achieved during his term in office have included Nato Europeans' growing opportunities of influencing US-Soviet relations and the incorporation of Washington in the Helsinki process.

He inaugurated consultations with East Bloc countries and now plans to enlist support at the UN for confidence-building measures in parts of the world that don't conform to the pattern of East-West ties.

Claus Gennrich

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